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THE LIVES
OF
THE BRITISH SAINTS

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And I alone sit lingering here !
Their very memory is fair and bright
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My days, which are at best but dull and hoary,
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HENRY VAUGHAN : *Silex Scintillans*, 1055.

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THE SAINTS OF WALES AND CORNWALL AND
SUCH IRISH SAINTS AS HAVE DEDICATIONS
IN BRITAIN

By
S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.,
AND
JOHN FISHER, B.D.

 *Frank*

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :

Published for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion

By CHARLES J. CLARK, 65, CHANCERY LANE, W.C.

1907

54

**Dedicated to the Memory of Four Pioneers
in Celtic Hagiology.**

To

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S. B. Mar. 29, 1946 42

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Contents of Volume I

I	INTRODUCTION—	PAGE
i.	The Welsh and Cornish Saints	I
ii.	Lesser Britain	39
iii.	On Welsh and Cornish Calendars	65
iv.	The Genealogies of the Welsh Saints	86
II	THE LIVES—	
	S. Aaron—S. Byrnach	101

List of Illustrations

	PAGE
Map of Monastic Foundations in Wales	35
Map of Irish Settlements in Brittany	45
Map of Cornish Dedications. <i>between</i>	80–81
S. Aaron. <i>From Statue at S. Aaron, Côtes du Nord</i> . . . <i>facing</i>	104
Map showing Churches of the Companions of S. Achebran . . . „	106
S. Aelhaiarn. <i>From Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass at Plogonnec,</i> <i>Finistère</i> „	110
S. Alban. <i>From the Altar Screen at S. Albans Cathedral</i> . . . „	140
S. Allen. <i>From Statue at Scaer</i> „	147
S. Amwn. <i>Bust of, at Plescop</i> „	156
S. Anne. <i>At Porte S. Malo, Dinan</i> „	160
Bona Dea. <i>At Museum, Rennes</i> „	160
S. Anne's Well, Whitstone „	164

	PAGE
S. Arthmael. <i>From Stained Glass at S. Sauveur, Dinan.</i> facing 172	
„ <i>From Stained Glass at Ploermel</i> „ 172	
S. Asaph. <i>From Fifteenth-Century Glass in Chancel Window Llan-</i> <i>dyrnog Church, Denbighshire</i> „ 184	
S. Aude. <i>From Statue at Guizény</i> „ 188	
S. Austell. <i>Statue on West Front of Tower, S. Austell</i> 190	
S. Beuno's Head. <i>From Window at Penmorfa, Carnarvon</i> 216	
„ Well, Clynnog „ 216	
S. Beuno's Chest at Clynnog „ 218	
S. Beuno. <i>From the Open-air Pulpit of the Abbey, Shrewsbury</i> 220	
S. Brendan. <i>Statue at Tregrom</i> „ 246	
S. Brendan, or Branwaladar. <i>From Statue at Loc-Brevelaire</i> 250	
S. Brendan's Chapel and Statue. <i>Inisglonia, Co. Mayo</i> 258	
„ Cloghan. <i>N. Blasket Island, Co. Kerry</i> „ 258	
S. Brigid. <i>Statue at Lagonna, Guimerch</i> „ 286	
„ <i>Statue at S. Gerans</i> „ 286	
„ <i>Statue at SS. Dredeneaux</i> „ 286	
S. Brychan. <i>From Stained Glass Window, S. Neot, Cornwall</i> 320	
S. Azenor and S. Budoc. <i>From Carving at Plouvin</i> 334	

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O dawel ymneillduedd
Eiddilion flwyddi olaſ
Fy ngyrfa, yn noddfa Naf.
Byw arno, byw iddo Ef
Mwy'n ddiddig mewn hedd-haddef;
A dal cymundeb â 'r don,
Byd ail, o ŵydd bydolion.
Heb dyrfaeu byd, heb derfyn
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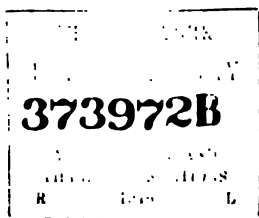
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S. Aaron. <i>From Statue at S. Aaron, Côtes du Nord</i>	facing 104
Map showing Churches of the Companions of S. Achebran	106
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	PAGE
S. Arthmael. <i>From Stained Glass at S. Sauveur, Dinan.</i> . . . facing	172
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Introduction

I. THE WELSH AND CORNISH SAINTS

SINCE 1836, when appeared *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, by the Rev. Rice Rees, nothing has been done in the same field, although material has accumulated enormously. That work was an attempt made, and successfully made, to throw light on a subject hitherto unstudied and dark. Archbishop Ussher had, indeed, in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Dublin, 1639, dealt with the early history of the Church in the British Isles in a masterly manner. But he was unacquainted with the Welsh language, and the Welsh MSS. were not accessible to him. Nevertheless, with really wonderful perspicuity he arrived at results that were, in the main, correct. He dealt with only such of the Welsh Saints as had had the good fortune to have their Lives written in Latin, and of such there are few, and of these few all were not accessible to him. Moreover, these *Vitæ* do not always tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

The importance of the saintly pedigrees is not to be ignored. Ecclesiastical preferments were made according to tribal law. The family to which a saint belonged had to be fixed, and this was done by the pedigrees. Then a claimant to a foundation or benefice of the saint had to establish his descent from the family of the saint, without which he was deemed ineligible to enter upon it.

This condition of affairs existed at the time of Giraldus, at the end of the twelfth century, for he bitterly inveighs against the hereditary tenure of ecclesiastical benefices.¹ And he says that the same condition of affairs existed in Armorica. S. Malachi (d. 1148) complained of the same abuse in Ireland.

It was with ecclesiastical property as with that which was secular.

¹ *Description of Wales*, Bk. II, ch. vi. All members of the family, lay as well as cleric, had a right to support out of the benefice. Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, 1897, pp. 284 *et seq.*

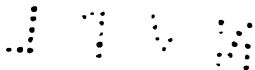
Right to inherit one as the other had to be established by proof of descent. The pedigree was the title-deed appealed to in both cases. Before the fifth century, indeed, the genealogies are mostly fictitious. But it was precisely these fictitious pedigrees which possessed no legal value from the fifth century upwards; however, when the great rush was made into Wales by those who had been dispossessed of their lands by the Picts in the first place, and secondly by the Saxons, these records became of supreme importance. The new comers settled down on newly acquired territories, and from thenceforth the pedigrees had to be determined and carried on from generation to generation with the strictest regard to accuracy, for tribal rights, both secular and ecclesiastical, depended on them.

"Inheritance in land and all tribal rights could only be asserted by proof produced of legal descent. And it is clear that such proof contained in the production of a genealogy could not be left to irresponsible persons. Consequently, in every Celtic race each branch of a family maintained a professional genealogist, who kept a record of the family descent from the original tree. But further, for the checking and controlling of these records, the chief or king had his special recorder, who also made entries in the book kept for the use of the chief. In Ireland, the High King always had such an officer, to register, not only the descent of the royal family, but also of all the provincial kings and principal territorial chiefs in every province; in order that, in case of dispute, a final appeal could be made to this impartial public record. This officer was an *olambh*, and it was his function periodically to visit the principal courts and residences of the chieftains throughout the land, and to inspect the books of family history and genealogies; and on his return to Tara, or wherever the High King might reside, to enter into the monarch's book the accessions to these families and their expansion.

"So also, every provincial chief and king had his *olambh*, and in obedience to an ancient law, established before the introduction of Christianity into the land, all the provincial records were returnable every third year to the Convocation at Tara, where they were compared with each other, and with the monarch's book, the *Saltair of Tara*."²

Our Heralds' Visitations, undertaken every few years through the land to record pedigrees, were analogous, though the heralds concerned themselves, not with rights to land, but to the bearing of arms.

² O'Curry, *Lect. on the MS. Materials of Anc. Irish Hist.*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 203-4.



What Rice Rees did in his *Essay* was to show the value of the pedigrees, and the care with which they had been kept, and how trustworthy they were in determining the stocks and the generations to which the saints belonged. Here and there, owing to identity or similarity of names, errors arose, but this was exceptional. Rees laid great stress on the undoubted fact that in Wales as in Ireland a foundation took its title from its founder. A saint fasted for forty days on a site, and thenceforth it was consecrated to God, and became his own in perpetuity. Dedication during the Age of the Saints meant ownership, and implied therefore much more than is now ordinarily understood by the term. It was "proprietary" dedication. In a poem by the Welsh bard, Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (*flor. c. 1160-1220*), written in honour of S. David, in which a number of churches "dedicated" to him are named, it is repeatedly stated that "*Dewi owneth*" (*Dewi bieu*) such and such church, some of which churches, among them, Llangyfelach and Llangadog, had evidently been "re-dedicated" to him.

But although this is certainly true, yet it does not apply to all the churches named after a saint. For a piece of land granted to a saint's church when he was dead also acquired his name. A saint was a proprietor for all ages, whether on earth or in heaven. Thus, all the Teilo, Dewi and Cadoc churches were not personally founded by these three saints, but were, in most cases, acquisitions made by the churches of Llandaff, Menevia and Llancarfan in later times. Nevertheless, in general, the presumption is that a church called after a Celtic saint was of his own individual dedication. It is hardly possible for us to realise the activity and acquisitiveness of the early Celtic saints. They never remained long stationary, but hurried from place to place, dotting their churches or their cells wherever they could obtain foothold. No sooner did an abbot obtain a grant of land, than, dropping a few monks there to hold it for him, he hurried away to solicit another concession, and to found a new church.

The Lives of SS. Cadoc, David, Senan, and Cieran show them to have been incessantly on the move. S. Columba is reported to have established a hundred churches. S. Abban Mac Cormaic erected three monasteries in Connaught, then went into Munster, where he founded another; then migrated to Muskerry, where he built a fifth. Next he made a settlement at Oill Caoine; then went to Fermoy and reared a seventh. Again he passed into Muskerry and established an eighth. Soon after he planted a ninth at Clon Finglass; thereupon, away he went and constructed a tenth, Clon Conbruin. No sooner was this

done than he went to Emly again to found monasteries, how many we are not told. Thereafter he departed for Leinster, and laid the foundations of another, Cill Abbain. Then to Wexford, where he planted "multa monasteria et cellæ." Not yet satisfied, he found his way into Meath, and established there two monasteries. After that the King of the Hy Cinnselach gave up to him his cathair, or dun, to be converted into a home for religion. This abbot must have been the founder of some twenty monasteries and cells. And he is not unique. All the saints did the same as far as they were able. They did not content themselves with this in their own lands; they crossed the seas to Cornwall and to Brittany, and made foundations there as well.

When we come to the extant Lives of the Celtic Saints, we have to regret that so few of those which are Welsh have come down to us. The majority of these are contained in the MS. volume in the *Cottonian Collection* in the British Museum, Vespasian A. xiv, of the early thirteenth century.

This was laid under contribution by John of Tynemouth, who, in the first half of the fourteenth century, made a tour through England and Wales in quest of material for the composition of a Martyrologium and a Sanctilogium. Of his collection only one MS. is known to exist, now in the British Museum, *Cotton MS.*, Tiberius E. i, and this was partly destroyed, and where not destroyed injured by fire in 1731; but of this more hereafter.

The MS. Vespas. A. xiv contains the following Latin Lives:—S. Gundleus, S. Cadoc, S. Iltut, S. Teilo, S. Dubricius (two lives), S. David, S. Bernach, S. Paternus, S. Clitauc, S. Kebi (two lives), S. Tatheus, S. Carantocus, and S. Aidus.

The twelfth century *Book of Llan Dâu* adds the following:—S. Oudoceus, S. Samson, and S. Ælgar the Hermit.

Capgrave gives a few more Lives:—S. Caradoc, S. Cungar, S. Decuman, S. Gildas, S. Jutwara, S. Justinian, S. Keyne, S. Kentigern, S. Kened, S. Machutus, S. Maglorius, and S. Petroc, but of these only Caradoc belongs exclusively to Wales. There are besides Latin Lives of S. Winefred (two), S. Monacella, and S. Deiniol.

Of prose Lives written in Welsh there are only a few, namely, those of S. David, S. Beuno, S. Winefred, S. Llawddog or Lleuddad, S. Collen, S. Curig, and S. Ieuan Gwas Padrig; but there is a fair number of poems written in honour of saints, which are of the nature of metrical Lives or panegyrics. They are mostly by authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the information they supply of the saints themselves is of a varying quality. The *Cywy-*

ddau extant are to the following :—S. Cawrdaf, S. Cynog, S. Doged, S. Dwynwen, S. Dyfnog, S. Eimion Frenhin, S. Llonio, S. Llwhaiarn, S. Mechell, S. Mordeyrn, S. Mwrog, S. Peblig, and S. Tydecho, not to mention others to whom there are Latin and Welsh prose Lives.

John of Tynemouth, in his peregrination, cannot have visited North Wales, as he does not take into his collection S. Asaph and S. Deiniol, and he certainly omitted Devon and Cornwall.

In 1330 Bishop Grandisson, of Exeter, wrote to the Archdeacon of Cornwall, complaining of the neglect and accident which had caused the destruction or loss of the records of the local Cornish Saints, and he directed that those which remained should be transcribed, two or three copies made, and should be transmitted to Exeter, to ensure their preservation; and he further enjoined that the parish priests who failed to do this should be fined.³ Yet when Grandisson in 1366 drew up his *Legendarium* for the use of the Church of Exeter, he passed over all these local saints without notice with the exception of S. Melor and S. Samson. Had John of Tynemouth visited Exeter, he would have used the material collected by Grandisson, now unhappily lost.

From Brittany we obtain some important Lives of Saints who crossed from Wales and settled there, as Gildas, Paul of Léon, Samson, Malo, Maglorius, Tudwal, Leonore, Brioc, and Meven. Ireland furnishes a good many Lives, and these of value, as the revival of Christianity, after a relapse on the death of S. Patrick, was due to an influx of missionaries sent into the island from Llancarfan and Men-evia; as also because of the close intercommunication between Ireland and Wales. Very few Welsh Saints found their way to Scotland, at least permanently, and the only saint who may be said to belong to Wales as well as to Scotland, whose life has been preserved, is Cyn-deyrn (Kentigern).

When we come to estimate the historical value of these Lives, we must remember that none of them are contemporary. The nearest to approach is that of S. Samson, composed by a writer who took his information from a monk aged eighty, who had heard stories of Samson from his uncle, a cousin of Samson, and who had conversed with the mother of the saint. All the rest are much posterior, composed, mostly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and later by writers who piled up miracles, and altered or eliminated such particulars as they considered did not comport with the perfection

³ *Register of Bp. Grandisson*, ed. H. Randolph, Pt. I, p. 585.

of the hero, or did not accord with their notions of ecclesiastical order. Joscelyn, in his *Life of S. Kentigern*, admits having done this.

One flagrant instance of bad faith is found in the *Life of S. Gundleus*. The facts relative to the history of the father of S. Cadoc are given in the *Vita S. Cadoci*, but as they displeased the panegyrist of Gundleus, he entirely altered them, and represented the early life of the saint in a totally different light from that in which it is revealed to us in the other document. Other writers, again, deliberately forged Lives to support certain pretensions of the see or monastery to which they belonged.

In the ninth century the diocese of Dol had been made metropolitan, with jurisdiction over all the sees of Brittany, removing them from being under the archiepiscopal authority of Tours. But several endeavoured to slip away and revert to Tours. Among these was that of Curiosopitum, or Quimper. To justify this, a *Life of S. Corentinus*, the founder, was fabricated, which represented him as receiving consecration and jurisdiction from S. Martin of Tours, who had died half a century before his time.

Some Lives were composed out of scanty materials, mere oral tradition. Rhygyfarch wrote his *Life of S. David* apparently between 1078 and 1088. The cathedral and monastery had been repeatedly ravaged and burnt by the Northmen, and the records destroyed; nevertheless, some records did remain "written in the old style of the ancients." To what extent he amplified by grafting in legendary matter picked up orally we are unable to say.

With regard to the miraculous element in the Lives, that occupies so large a part, we are not disposed to reject it altogether. The miracles are embellishments added, in many instances, by the redactor, as a flourish to give piquancy to his narrative. He often could not appreciate a plain incident recorded in the early text that he had under his eyes, and he finished it off with a marvel to accommodate it to the taste of the times in which he wrote. He dealt with a commonplace event much as a professional story-teller treats an incident that has happened to himself or an acquaintance. He fur-bishes it up and adds point and converts it into a respectable anecdote. To the mediæval hagiographer an incident in a saintly life was not worth recording unless it led up to a miraculous display of power. Very often the miracle is invented, either to account for the possession of a certain estate by a monastery, or as a deterrent to the sacrilegious against violation of sanctuary, and these stand on the same ground as the terrible "judgments" in Puritan story-books on profaners of

the Sabbath. A little criticism can generally detect where fact ends and fiction begins.

In Joscelyn's *Life of S. Patrick* we are told that the natives of one place made a pitfall in his way, covered it with rushes and strewed earth over them, hoping to see Patrick fall into the hole over which he would ride. But a girl forewarned the saint, and he escaped the pitfall. Joscelyn goes on to say that in spite of the caution given to him, Patrick rode over it, and the rushes were miraculously stiffened to sustain him. Here is an obvious addition.

Some lepers clamoured to Brigid for beer, as she was a notable brewer. She jestingly replied that she had no liquor to dispose of, but her bath-water. The writer of her *Life* could not leave the anecdote alone, and he tacked on the statement that the water in which she had bathed was miraculously converted into ale. Where the hand of the editor has been so obviously at work, we have deemed it sufficient to tell the tale, omitting his addition, but calling attention to it in a footnote. Where, however, the miraculous is so involved with the historic record as to be inseparable from it, we give the tale as presented in the original.

Certain miracles seem to be commonplaces grafted into the *Lives* promiscuously. Such is that of the boy carrying fire in the lap of his gabardine from a distance to the monastery, when that at the latter had become extinguished. There may well be a basis for this story. Fire was scarce, and most difficult to kindle from dry sticks. If that on a hearth went out, live coals would be borrowed from the nearest village, and a lad from the abbey would be sent for it. The so-called incense pots found in tumuli of the bronze age were probably nothing else but vessels for the conveyance of live coals, and with such every household would be provided. A boy might well convey fire in such a vessel in the lap of his habit. It would be too hot for him to carry in his hand.

Nor are we disposed entirely to relegate to the region of fiction the tales of dragons that recur with wearisome iteration in the *Lives* of the Saints. In some cases the dragon is a symbol. When Meven and Samson overcome dragons, this is a figurative way of saying that they obtained the overthrow and destruction of Conmore, Regent of Domnonia. In other cases it may have had a different origin. It may possibly refer to the saint having abolished a pagan human sacrifice by burning victims in wicker-work figures representing monsters. In the legend of SS. Derien and Neventer, we read that the saints found a man drowning himself because the lot had fallen on his only son to be offered to a dragon. He was pulled out of the water, the boy was rescued, and the dragon abolished.

Such sacrifices, we have reason to believe, were annually offered by the non-Aryan natives for the sake of securing a harvest, the ashes being carried off and sprinkled over their fields. Cæsar speaks of human victims enclosed in wicker-work figures and consumed by fire, and there are indications, as Mr. Fraser has shown in *The Golden Bough*, that this was practised throughout Europe and the East. It has left its traces to this day in Brittany. Wicker-work figures are represented on a cross-shaft at Checkley, Staffordshire. That the form assumed by these cages of woven osiers were that of a mythical monster is not improbable. Cæsar indeed says that in Gaul the shape given to them was that of a man, but this need not have been so invariably.

Or take the story that recurs in so many of the legends of the saints, of the Saint Corentine, or Neot, or Indract, that he had for his supply a fish out of a well, that was miraculously restored to life daily, to serve him as an inexhaustible provision. There were two sources whence this fable sprang, we may suppose. Possibly enough, on the tombstone of the saint was cut the early symbol of the fish. Possibly, also, there may have been cut on it an inscription like that of Abercius of Hierapolis: "Faith led me everywhere, and everywhere she furnished me as nourishment with a fish of the spring, very large, very pure, fished by a holy virgin. She gave it without cessation to be eaten by the friends (*i.e.* the Brethren). She possesses a delicious wine which she gives along with the bread." This is allegorical. The Fish is the *Ἰχθύς*, the symbol of Christ. The Virgin is the Catholic Church, though some have supposed the reference to the Blessed Virgin Mother.

The epitaph of Pectorius of Autun is even more obscure, but it turns on the same theme. "Celestial race of the Divine Fish, fortify thy heart, since thou hast received, amidst mortals, the immortal source of Divine Water. Friend, rejoice thy soul with the everflowing water of wisdom, which gives treasures. Receive this food, sweet as honey, of the Saviour of saints, eat with delight, holding in thy hand the Fish." ⁴ The reference is to the Eucharist, through which Christ, the Divine Fish, communicates Himself to His faithful, born of water to Him. In the case of Abercius we possess his legend, drawn up probably in the sixth century, and it is significant that it is based on the inscription which it misinterprets and has converted into an extravagant and fabulous narrative.

⁴ Numerous treatises have appeared on the monument of Abercius, of which Mr. Ramsay discovered two fragments. The whole matter is summed up in an article in Cabrol (F.), *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1903, i, pp. 16-87.

In a very similar manner may an inscription, or merely the symbol of the Fish, have furnished material for the myth of the fish in the well that recurs in so many saintly legends.

But there was another source. In Irish mythology, and it was doubtless the same in the myths of other Celtic races, the *Eo Feasa*, or "Salmon of Knowledge," that lived in the "Fountain of Connla," played a part. Over this well grew some hazel trees which dropped their nuts into the well, where they were consumed by the salmon, and the fish became endowed with all the wisdom and knowledge contained in the nuts. In a poem by Tadhig O'Kelly we have this passage :—

"I am not able to describe their shields—
Unless I had eaten the Salmon of Knowledge
I never could have accomplished it."

Aengus Finn, as late as 1400, employs the same expression and applies it to the Virgin Mary, "She is the Salmon of Knowledge, through whom God became Man." ⁵ Consequently, in Celtic myth, the eating of the mystic fish signified the acquisition of superhuman knowledge.

It is also possible that in some poetical story of the life of the saint the fact of his daily communicating was put figuratively as of his daily partaking of the Fish from the Living Well, the Fish that never died, but was ever present to be partaken of by the faithful. This in process of time would be misunderstood, and give rise to the fable, which agreed singularly with the Celtic symbol.

It may be thought that we have dealt too liberally with the fables that are found in the Lives. But we hold that in a good many cases the fabulous matter is a parasitic growth disfiguring a genuine historic fact, and therefore we have been unwilling to reject them.

Probably, in Roman Britain, there were bishops in the principal towns, as London, Lincoln, York and Caerleon, and the Church was organized in the same manner as in Gaul, each bishop having his see, loosely delimited. The Christianity that entered Britain was almost certainly through the soldiery and the Romano-Gallic merchants and settlers in the towns. But it spread into the country, and the native British accepted the Gospel to some extent.

But when the Wall was abandoned, and there was a rush made south by the refugees to Wales, and when others came flying before the swords of the Saxons and Angles, the whole ecclesiastical frame-

⁵ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, ii, pp. 143-4; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, pp. 553-4.

work went to pieces. There were no more sees. Bishops were among those who escaped into Wales or crossed the seas to Armorica and Spanish Galicia, but they had no longer any territorial jurisdiction. In the desolation and confusion of the times, this was inevitable.

As the Church in Wales began to recover from the shock, it gravitated about new centres, monastic institutions, of which the heads might or might not be bishops. It was so in Ireland after Patrick's time, where no such a thing as a territorial organization was attempted till centuries later; there monasteries were attached to tribes and ministered to their religious requirements. Bishops were retained by the abbots, but they had no jurisdiction, they were subject to abbot or abess, and were retained for the purpose of conferring orders, and for that alone. It began in this way in Brittany, but there the proximity to and influence of the Gallo-French Church, and the insistence of the Frank kings, rapidly brought the Celtic Church there into the approved shape. Such a tribal organization was in conformity with Celtic ideas, and followed on that which existed in Pagan times. Then there had been the Secular Tribe with its chief at its head, and alongside of it what may be called the Ecclesiastical Tribe, composed of the Bards and Druids.

With the acceptance of Christianity, the saints simply occupied the shells left vacant by the Druids who had disappeared. Among the Celts all authority was gathered into the hands of hereditary chiefs. Of these there were two kinds, the military and the ecclesiastical chief, each occupying separate lands; but the members of the ecclesiastical tribe were bound to render military service to the secular chief; and the ecclesiastical chief on his side was required to provide for the needs of the secular tribe by educating the young of both sexes, and by performing religious ceremonies. Every tenth child, tenth pig, calf, foal, went to the saint, and his tribe was thus recruited. Of S. Patrick we are told:—

Fecit ergo totam insulam in funiculo distributionis divisam cum omnibus incolis utriusque sexus decimari omneque decimum caput tam in hominibus, quam in pecoribus in partem Domini jussit sequestrari. Omnes ergo mares monachos, fœminas sanctimoniales efficiens; numerosa monasteria ædificavit, decimamque portionem terrarum, ac pecudum, eorum sustentationi assignavit. Infra brevi igitur temporis spatium nulla eremus, nullus pene terræ angulus aut locus in insula fuit tam remotus, qui perfectis monachis aut monialibus non repleretur.*

In certain cases an even more liberal grant was made to the Church, as in Leinster, where, as the *Colloquy of the Ancients* informs us,

* Vita S. Patricii, *Acta SS. Boll. Mart.*, ii, c. 17.

"the province dedicated to the saint a third of their children, and a third of their wealth." ⁷

There was an economic reason which compelled the Celts to establish great congregations of celibates. Neither in Ireland nor in Wales was the land sufficiently fertile, and the cultivatable land sufficiently extensive to maintain the growing population.

When no new lands were available for colonization, when the three field system was the sole method of agriculture known, then the land which would support at least three families now would then maintain but one. To keep the equipoise there were but migration, war, and compulsory celibacy as alternatives. And we must remember that multitudes of refugees were pressing into Wales from North and East, far more than that mountainous land could sustain.

A story is told in the preface to the *Hymn of S. Colman* that shows how serious the problem was even with the aid of the compulsory celibacy of the monasteries. In 657 the population in Ireland had so increased, that the arable land proved insufficient for the needs of the country; accordingly an assembly of clergy and laity was summoned by Diarmidh and Blaithmac, Kings of Ireland, to take counsel. It was decided that the amount of land held by any one person should be restricted from the usual allowance of nine ridges of plough land, nine of bog, nine of pasture, and nine of forest; and further the elders of the assembly directed that prayers should be offered to the Almighty to send a pestilence "to reduce the number of the lower class, that the rest might live in comfort." S. Fechin of Fore, on being consulted, approved of this extraordinary petition, and the prayer was answered by the sending of the Yellow Plague; but the vengeance of God caused the force of the pestilence to fall on the nobles and clergy, of whom multitudes, including the kings and Fechin of Fore himself, were carried off.⁸

On the Steppes of Tartary, where also the amount of land that can be placed under cultivation is limited, for the purpose of keeping down the population, great Buddhist monasteries have been established, and the children are set apart from infancy, by their parents, to become Lamas.

The duties of the saint were to instruct the young of the tribe, to provide for the religious services required, and to curse the enemies of the head of the Secular Tribe. The institution of schools for the young was certainly much older than Christianity in Britain and Ireland. We know from classic authorities, as

⁷ *Silva Gadelica*, Lond. 1892, ii, p. 218.

⁸ O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1851, i, p. 131.

well as from the Irish writers of the heroic legends, that Druids formed communities, that these were presided over by Arch-Druid, that in them were educated the sons of the kings nobles, and that the heads of these schools had lands for support. By no other way can we explain the marvellous expansion of the educational establishments which took place after Ireland became Christian, than on the supposition that the saints entered upon an institution already existing, and brought into it a new

S. Cyndeyrn at Llanelwy had in it 965 monks. At Bangor Is according to Bede, there were seven choirs, numbering 30 each. S. Lasrian is said to have ruled over 1,500 disciples, S. C had 1,746 scholars under him. At a later period, S. Gerald Mayo had in his establishment 3,300.

Some of these great schools or monasteries contained female as well as males, and the double monasteries so prevalent among the Angles were formed on the Celtic model. S. Brigid at Kildare had such a double house of monks as well as nuns. As many of the pupils carried on to prepare for the clerical life, and some of the daughters resolved on embracing the ecclesiastical profession also, these young people were thrown together a good deal, and the results were always satisfactory. Accordingly, one or other of the saints induced a sister, or a mother, or some other approved matron, to establish a girls' school, subject to his supervision, yet at a distance from the college for youths, sufficient to prevent the recurrence of scandal.

The course of instruction in these schools consisted in the quadrivium, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Of S. C it is said that his master Meuthi during twelve years instructed in Donatus and Priscian, *i.e.*, in grammatical learning.⁹ The pupils had to be acquired by heart. The Book of Ballymote contains a schedule of the studies in these great colleges during the twelfth century, that a pupil was supposed to spend in them.¹⁰

That the saint was expected to minister in sacred things to all of the tribe stands to reason. If his first duty was to be the education of the young, his second was to conduct worship, and to minister to the dead. To the monastery the people went, especially at Easter, to receive Communion and to bring their oblations. The churches were small, usually of wattle and daub,¹¹ and could not contain

⁹ Ducange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, s.v. Quadrivium. The tradition of "the seven liberal arts" of the trivium and quadrivium was current in Wales in at least the fifteenth century. *Iolo MSS.*, p.

¹⁰ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Lond. 1873, i. 171-3.

¹¹ "More Britonum ecclesiam, et cæteras officinas, de lignis levigatas

regations. But crosses were erected as stations in different localities occupied by the tribe, from whence the saint preached, where probably he also ministered the sacrament.¹² There would seem to have been only one cemetery in each tribe that was consecrated, and to which the bodies of the members of the tribe were conveyed. This, however, is not so certain.

Something more will have to be said about the third obligation of the saint, that of cursing the enemies of his tribal chieftain.

We shall have to quote Irish sources to illustrate what was customary in Wales, as the religious systems were identical in both, as authorities are more copious in Ireland than in Wales.

The Hy Many in the fifth century were becoming too populous for their district. Now, at that time the Firbolgs occupied Connaught. The Mór and his people coveted their land; accordingly, they called on Grellan to curse the Firbolgs. He did so, and then the Hy Many defeated them and took possession of Connaught. Attributing their success to his imprecations, they bade him impose on them something for ever; and this he did. "A scruple out of every townland, the first-born of every family, every firstling pig or firstling lamb, the firstling foal. Let the Hy Many protect my Church and prevent it, refuse not their tribute, and my blessing shall be on the land. It shall never be subdued carrying my crozier—that shall be the battle-standard of the race."¹³

We may take a remarkable illustration from the Life of S. Findchua, the manner in which the saints were called in, as Balaam was by the Jews, to curse the enemies of the tribe to which they were attached. Findchua had been baptized by S. Ailbe of Emly. He made a journey to the son of the King of the Déisi of his place in heaven. So laden, he supposed, to earn for himself another place. To do this he made for him seven iron sickles, on which he hung for seven years. The men of Meath were attacked by pirates from the sea, coming frequently and committing great depredations, so Findchua was sent for to curse them. When the saint heard that ambassadors for this purpose were coming to him, he ordered for their entertainment "a barrel of ale sufficient to intoxicate fifty men," and meat in proportion. Then he came down from his sickles and went with the dele-

care jam incohabant." Vit. S. Kentigerni, Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish SS.*, Metcalfe, Paisley, 1889, ii, p. 51.

¹² "Venerabilis pater Kentegernus antistes habebat in consuetudinem ut eis quibus prædicando populum acquisitionis nomini Christi subdiderat . . . nphale vexillum sanctæ crucis erigeret." *Ibid.* p. 86.

¹³ O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of the Hy Many*, Dublin, 1843.

gates to Tara. He found the men of Meath in great distress because the pirates had landed and were spreading over the country. "Then," we read, "the cleric's nature rose against them, so that sparks of blazing fire burst forth from his teeth." Led by the saint roaring his incantations, the men of Meath rushed against their assailants and exterminated them, "slaying their gillies, burning their ships, and making a cairn of their heads." In return for this service Findchua was granted a *dun*, with the privileges that went with the possession of such a fortress, also the King's drinking horn, to be delivered to him every seventh year.

When war broke out against Leinster, the aid of Findchua was again invoked; and we are expressly told that he was sent for only because the Druid, whose proper function it was to curse the enemy, was too old to do the job. The King of Leinster was in his *dun* at Barrow; Findchua advised him to march against the enemy, and he himself would lead the van. Then a prophetic fury seized on him, "a wave of Godhead" it is termed, and he thundered forth a metrical incantation that began—

"Follow me, ye men of Leinster."

Then "wrath and fierceness" came on the saint. The result was that victory declared for the arms of the men of Leinster. The leader of the enemy, Cennselach, threw himself on the protection of Findchua, and surrendered to him "his clan, his race, and his posterity." In return for his services, the King of Leinster granted the saint a hundred of every kind of cattle every seventh year.

We have, in the case of Findchua, not only an instance of getting possession of a *dun*, but also of becoming the tutelary saint over an entire tribe—that occupying Wexford.

Again war broke out, this time between Ulster and Munster, and the King of the latter sent to Findchua for assistance. "Then Findchua drove in his chariot with his staff in his hand, without waiting for any of the clerics, until he got to the *dun*," where the King was. Again he marched at the head of the army, brandishing his crozier, and again victory was with those who trusted in him. For his aid he was granted a cow from every farm, and a milch-cow to the cleric who should carry the crozier in battle, thenceforth, whenever it led to battle. The King of Munster, moreover, agreed to rise up before Findchua's *comarb*.¹⁴

We need follow the story no further. Suffice it to say that in later life the saint got a glimmer of thought that being mixed

¹⁴ "Book of Lismore," *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxf. 1890, p. 241. The gift given to S. Findchua was "The slaughterous hero," p. 240.

with so much bloodshed was not quite in keeping with the new religion so imperfectly assimilated, "and he repented of the battles which he had fought, and the deeds which he had done for friendship and for love of kindred," and, we may add, for very liberal payment.

When Diarmid Mac Cearboil went to war against the Clan Niall of the north, whom S. Columba (Columcille) had stirred up against him—although he was a Christian, he took with him in his campaign a Druid to perform enchantments and pronounce curses on the enemy; and the Hy Niall had the saint with them to work his counter charms and deliver his counter curses.¹⁵

The office of cursing originally formed part of the duties of the Druid. He was a functionary called in likewise at the conclusion of contracts. When two individuals entered into a compact, the Druid was present to utter imprecations on him who should break the agreement. Beside the Druid, the *file* or poet was called in, and he gave a guarantee that he would compose a lampoon against the transgressor. This was part and parcel of a process that was legal. When S. Patrick, S. Carantoc, and the rest of the Commission revised the laws of Ireland, the least possible interference was made with existing social and legal systems.

As the Druid ceased to be esteemed, insensibly the Saint stepped into his functions. He had thrust on him the duties formerly discharged by the Druid. From being professional curser of the tribal foes, it was but natural that the saint should take on him to curse those who interfered with the privileges of his monastery, broke sanctuary, or even gave him personal offence.

It was held that a curse once launched could not be recalled, it must fall and blight; if it did not strike him at whom it was directed, it recoiled and smote the saint or bard who had pronounced it. For instance, S. Cieran of Clonmacnois encountered King Diarmid Mac Cearboil, who had offended him, and he cried out against him, "I will not deprive thee of heaven and earth, but a violent death I wish thee, by wound, by water, and by fire." The king at once offered to pay any price desired by the saint to escape such a fate. "Nay," said S. Cieran, "the missile that I have delivered, by that same I myself would be hurt to my death, if it fell not on thee." ¹⁶

Columba visited S. Loman with the White Legs, who hid his books lest his visitor should ask to have them as a loan. Thereupon Columba cursed the books that they should no more profit the owner, and when Loman went for them he found that the wet had so stained

¹⁵ O'Donovan, *Tribes and Cust. of the Hy Many*.

¹⁶ *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 78.

them that they were well nigh illegible. S. Patrick cursed Brenainn that he should have neither son nor successor. A saint's curse by no means struck only the living; it affected after generations. Thus S. Patrick cursed the sons of Erc for stealing his horses, that their descendants should fall into servitude.¹⁷ S. Malo cursed a man nine generations who had spoken abusively of him.¹⁸

Some jugglers performed their tricks before Patrick. He had no food to give them, so he sent to King Loman hard by for some meat. At the time Patrick's deacon, Mantan, was cooking the King's dinner Loman and Mantan declared that they would not spare any of the meat for those mountebanks. Thereupon Patrick cursed them, that Loman's race should never after produce a king or a bishop, and that Mantan should never become noted as a saint, but that sheep and swine should run over his grave.¹⁹

In the same way David cursed Joab: "Let there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a staff, or that falleth on the sword, or that lacketh bread."²⁰

When we consider that at least some, if not all, of the non-Semitic inhabitants of Canaan belonged to the same stock as that which formed the substratum of the population in Ireland and Great Britain, we need not be surprised to find the same ideas relative to the force of a curse prevalent in Palestine as in Ireland. A curse, once launched, as already said, could not be recalled. If wrongfully pronounced, then it reverted and fell on the head of him who had pronounced it; but no amount of repentance, no amends made, could render it innocuous. S. Patrick cursed the Hy Ailell because his horses were stolen. The bishop he had set over them implored his pardon. He wiped the hoofs of Patrick's horses in token of submission, but all in vain. The curse must fall.

It is worth while to show how the conviction of the efficacy of a curse remains unshaken to the present day.

George Borrow, in his *Wild Wales*, mentions his encounter with an Irish woman. "When about ten yards from me, she pitched forward, gave three or four grotesque tumbles, heels over head, then standing bolt upright, about a yard before me, she raised her right arm, and shouted in a most discordant voice—'Give me an alms, for the glory of God!'" On entering into conversation with this woman, he learned that she had been a well-to-do respectable widow with a farm and two sons. One day she refused charity to a beggar woman.

¹⁷ *Tripartite Life*, p. 109.

¹⁸ "Vita 1^{ma}" in *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. d'Ille et Vilaine*, t. xvi, p. 304.

¹⁹ *Tripartite Life*, p. 203.

²⁰ 2 Sam. iii, 29.

who thereupon cursed her. In vain did she send after the mendicant to entreat her to remove the curse, and promised to reward her if she would ; this was refused. " All the rest of the day I remained sitting on the stool speechless, thinking of the prayer which the woman had said, and wishing I had given her everything I had in the world, rather than she should have said it." Thenceforth all went ill with her, the family, the farm. She became as one possessed, and in chapel " I would shout and hoorah, and go tumbling and toppling along the floor before the Holy Body." Her sons took to drink, one was convicted and sent to prison, she lost everything and became a homeless pauper.²¹

In Wales, till not so long ago the Holy Well of S. Elian was employed for invoking a curse on offenders. In Brittany, those who have been wronged appeal to S. Yves to this day to punish the wrong-doer.

We must not be too shocked at this cursing as practised by the Celtic saints. It was a legal right accorded to them, hedged about with certain restrictions. It was a means provided by law and custom to enable the weak, who could not redress their wrongs by force of arms, to protect themselves against the mighty, and to recover valuables taken from them by violence. A man who considered himself aggrieved, and could not forcibly recover the fine, went to a Druid in Pagan times, to a saint in Christian days, and asked him to " ill-wish " the wrong-doer, just as now he goes to a lawyer and solicits a summons.

We will now pass to a feature in the lives of several of the Celtic saints that needs explanation. This is the practice of " fasting against " an offender. There was a legal process whereby a creditor might recover from the debtor, or the wronged might exact an *eric* or fine from the wrong-doer ; and this was by levying a distress.

In Wales, as in Ireland, there was no executive. The law could be ascertained, and the amount of the fine decreed, but the creditor or aggrieved was left to his own devices to obtain the redress adjudicated. The court did nothing to enforce its judgments. Consequently, a man who could not enforce the penalty *vi et armis* was left to choose between two courses : either he might get a saint to curse the debtor or wrong-doer, or else he might take the matter into his own hands by " fasting against " the offender.

The process was this. He made formal demand for what was due to him. If this were refused, and he were unable otherwise to enforce

²¹ Borrow, *Wild Wales*, Lond. 1901, pp. 691-702.

payment or restitution, he seated himself at the door of the debtor and abstained from food and drink.

In India the British Government has been compelled to interfere, and put down this process of *dharna*. The fact of the levy of a fast against a man at once doubled the *eric* or fine due for the offence. In India it was the etiquette for the debtor to fast also; but in Ireland the only means that one man had of meeting a fast against him without yielding was to fast also. The fast seemed to have extended to the whole family; for when S. Patrick fasted against King Laoghaire, the king's son ate some mutton, to the great scandal of his mother. "It is not proper for you to eat food," said the Queen. "Do you not know that Patrick is fasting against us?" "It is not against me he is fasting," replied the boy, "but against my father."²² Hardly ever did any chief or noble dare to allow the fasting to proceed to the last extremities, because of the serious blood feud it would entail, as also because of the loss of *prestige* in the clan that would be his.

S. Patrick boldly had recourse to the same method to obtain his demands from King Laoghaire. Again, he found that Trian, an Ulster chief, maltreated his serfs. Trian had set them to cut down timber with blunt axes, and without providing them with whetstones. The poor fellows had their palms raw and bleeding. Patrick remonstrated with their master, but when he would not listen, he brought him to a proper sense of humanity by fasting against him.²³

We find the same thing in Wales. S. Cadoc was offended with Maelgwn Gwynedd. Some of the king's men had carried off a very beautiful girl from his land, the daughter of the steward of the establishment. The men of Cadoc's ecclesiastical tribe went in pursuit, and in revenge massacred three hundred of Maelgwn's attendants. The king, "in raging and furious anger," marched against Cadoc's tribe to wreak vengeance. Cadoc could not resist by force of arms, so he and all his men instituted a fast against the king, who at once gave way.²⁴

An odd story is that of the men of Leinster, who sent a deputation to the great S. Columba to obtain of him the promise that they should never be defeated by any foreign king. Columba demurred to giving them this assurance, whereupon they undertook a fast against him, and he gave way.²⁵

S. Caimin of Iniskeltra, being engaged by the King of Ulster to

²² *Tripartite Life*, p. 557.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 94.

²⁵ *Book of Leinster*, quoted in *Anecdota Oxon. The Book of Lismore*, p. 308.

obtain the destruction of the army of the King of Connaught, fasted against Connaught for three whole days and nights.

King Diarmid and Tara were cursed by S. Ruadhan, assisted by eleven saints of Ireland. In the narrative there is a point of interest connected with this practice of fasting. The twelve saints instituted their fast against the King, fasting alternate days. Thereupon he, in retaliation, fasted against them, and so long as one kept even with the other, neither could get the mastery, so the saints bribed the king's steward, with a promise of heaven, to tell his master a lie, and to assure him that he had seen the twelve eating on their fast day. When Diarmid heard this, he broke his fast, whereupon the saints got ahead of him and triumphed.²⁶

Another remarkable story is that of Adamnan, the biographer of S. Columba. Irghalach son of Conaing had killed Adamnan's kinsman Niall. The saint thereupon fasted upon Irghalach to obtain a violent death for him. The chief, aware of this, fasted against Adamnan. The saint not only fasted, but stood all night in a river up to his neck. The chief did the same. At last the saint outwitted the chief by dressing his servant in his clothes and letting Irghalach see him eat and drink. The chief thereupon intermitted his fasting, and so Adamnan got the better of him, and obtained his death. When the Queen heard how he had been over-reached, she was in terror lest the saint should curse her unborn child. So she "grovelled at his feet," imploring mercy for the child. Adamnan consented only so far to curse it, that it should be born with one eye.²⁷

We have spoken particularly of this levy of a distress by fasting, for it gives us the clue to the extravagant asceticism, not of the early Celtic saints only, but of the *yogis* and *fakirs* of India.

The Celtic saints were perfectly familiar with the law just described ; they put its process into operation against the chiefs with excellent effect. By no great effort of mind they carried their legal conceptions into their ideas of their relation with the Almighty. When they desired to obtain something from a chief, they fasted against him, and God was to them the greatest of all chieftains, so they supposed that to obtain a favour from God they must proceed against Him by levying a distress.

This lies at the root of all *fakir* self-torture in India. The ascetic dares the Almighty to let him die of starvation. He is perfectly assured that He will not do it, lest He should fall into disrepute among

²⁶ *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 82.

²⁷ "Fragmentary Annals," *ibid.*, pp. 442-3.

the people, assured also that He will be brought to submit, however reluctant He may be, in the end, just as would a human chieftain.

This, indeed, is frankly admitted in the *Tripartite Life* of S. Patrick. Patrick was ambitious of obtaining peculiar privileges from God, notably that of sitting in judgment over the Irish people at the Day of Doom. To obtain this he instituted a fast. When in a condition of nervous exaltation he fancied that an angel appeared to him and intimated that such a petition was offensive to God, and he offered him some other favour in place of it. Patrick stubbornly rejected all compromise, and continued his fast, as the writer says, "in a very bad temper, without drink, without food." After some time he fancied that the angel approached him again, offering further concessions. "I will not go from this place till I am dead," replied Patrick, "unless all the things I have asked for are granted to me." In the end he fell into such a condition of exhaustion of body, that he became a prey to hallucinations, thought the sky was full of black birds, and deluded himself into the belief that the Almighty had given way at all points.²⁸

A like story is told of S. Maidoc of Ferns, who desired to obtain some outrageous privileges—that no successor of his should go to hell, that no member of his community or tribe should be lost eternally, and that till the Day of Judgment he might be able daily to deliver a soul from hell. He fasted against God, to wring from Him these privileges, and continued his fast for fifty days, and deluded himself into the belief that he had forced the Almighty to grant everything.²⁹

There is a story of three scholars in the *Book of Lismore* that also illustrates how completely this legal notion of transacting business with the Almighty affected the minds of the early Celtic Christians. Three scholars resolved on reciting daily the Psalter, each taking a third; and they agreed among themselves that in the event of one dying, the others should take his Psalms on them in addition to their own. First one died, then the other two readily divided his fifty Psalms between them. But presently a second died, and the third found himself saddled with the daily recitation of the entire Psalter. He was highly incensed against heaven for letting the other two off so easily, and overloading him with obligations. Then, in his resentment, regarding God as having treated him unjustly, we are informed that he fasted against Him.

In India the *fakirs* possess power over the people who flock to them

²⁸ *Tripartite Life*, p. 115. Tirechan, the most trustworthy of the biographers of S. Patrick, speaks of this fast.

²⁹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 243.

to entreat the gods to obtain for them abundant harvests, or the burning of an enemy's house, the recovery of a sick child, or the wholesale destruction of an enemy's family. A man who sits on spikes, has voluntarily distorted himself, or who lives half buried in the earth, is supposed to be all powerful with the gods. Why so? Because through his self-tortures he has wrung a legal power over the gods to grant what he shall ask. The very same race which underlies the Hindu population of India underlay the Goidel in Ireland and the Brython in Britain. That race which to this day sets up menhirs and dolmens there, strewed Ireland and Cornwall with them at a remotely early period. That same race has scattered these remains over Moab. We find the same legal and religious ideas in India and in Ireland; as also in Moab, which is likewise strewn with dolmens. Balaam comports himself just as would a Christian saint many centuries later in Erin, because these ideas belong to the non-Aryan Ivernian race everywhere. Monachism among the Celts, doubtless, received an impulse from such books as the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, and the *Life of S. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus; but it did not originate from the perusal of these books. It had existed as a system, from a remote antiquity, among the pagan forefathers of the saints.

Everything conduced to engage the Christian missionaries in a contest of ascetic emulation with the medicine men of Paganism. They strove to outstrip them, for if they fell short of the self-torture practised by the latter, they could not hope to gain the ear of the princes and impress the imaginations of the vulgar. In the instance of S. Findchua we have a man emerging from Paganism, practising frightful austerities, and eagerly invoked to occupy the place hitherto assigned to the Druid. Surely he simply trod the same path as that pursued by the necromancers before him. Of S. Kevin it is said that he remained for seven years without sleep, and that he held up one arm till it became rigid, and a blackbird laid and hatched her eggs in his palm.³⁰ S. Erc is said to have spent the day immersed in a river. S. Ita to have had only earth for her bed.

This immoderate and astounding self-torture enabled the saints in Celtic lands, with all confidence, to appropriate to themselves the keys of heaven and hell, and to give assurance of celestial felicity to whom they would, and denounce to endless woe whoever offended them. S. Patrick is said to have promised heaven to a story-teller, who had amused him with old bardic tales, and to a harper for having

³⁰ Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, ii, 192; Giraldus Camb., *Top. Hibern.*, ii, 48; *Book of Lismore*, p. 334.

performed well on his instrument.³¹ As we have already seen, twelve saints of Ireland promised heaven to the unfaithful steward on condition that he should tell his master a lie, and so deceive him to his destruction. S. Carannog threatened to shut heaven against S. Finnian unless he would get into the tub he had prepared for himself as a bath.³² Senan of Iniscathy threatened King Lugaidh to deprive him of heaven if he thwarted him, and he left assurance with the community that no man buried in his churchyard should go to hell. S. Finnian of Clonard made the same promise relative to his own burial ground.³⁴

So much, then, for the ferocious self-torture exercised by the early Celtic saints. But in many cases there was a nobler motive in the hearts of these venerable fathers than one of mere following in the traces of their pagan predecessors, and outrivalling them. A clue to their conduct may be found in an incident related of S. Columba.

One day he saw a poor widow gathering sting-nettles. He asked her the reason. She replied that she had no other food. The man trembled with emotion, went back to his cell, and bade his attendant give him thenceforth nettles only to eat. He had come among the Picts to be an apostle, to poor as well as to rich, mean as well as noble, and he would not fare better than the lowliest among those to whom he ministered. The story goes on to say that the disciple, seeing the aged master become thin and pinched on his meagre diet, employed a hollow elder stick with which to stir the nettles, over the fire, and he surreptitiously introduced a little butter into the hollow of the stick, that ran down and enriched the poor ridge.³⁵

There are, moreover, remarkable instances among the Irish ascetics of their standing high above a narrow formalism. Some travellers came to Ruadhan of Lothra during Lent, and he at once produced meat supper, and, to exhibit true hospitality, not only sat down at himself, but bade his monks do the same. Some travellers came to S. Cronan, and he at once produced all he had for their refreshment and sat down with them. "Humph!" said a stickler for rule, "at this rate, I do not see much chance of Mattins being said." "My friend," said Cronan, "in showing hospitality to strangers we minister to Christ. Do not trouble about the Mattins, the angels will sit them for us." ³⁶

³¹ *Silva Gadelica*, ii, pp. 137, 191.

³² *Breviary of Léon*, 1516.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³³ *Book of Lismore*, pp. 210, 214.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁶ *Vitæ SS. Hibern.* in *Cod. Salamanc.*, p. 548.

At the same time that the saints were vastly hospitable they refused to regale kings and their retinue when this was demanded as a right. It was one of the conditions of subjection to a secular prince to have to find him in food when he called, and to furnish his beasts with provender. Compliance with the demand established a dangerous precedent, for vassalage brought with it liability to military service. It was accordingly stubbornly resisted.

When Maelgwn Gwynedd was hunting in the neighbourhood of S. Brynach, he sent to the saint a command to prepare supper for him and his attendants. "But the holy man being desirous that he and his brethren and also his territory should be free from all tribute, asserted that he did not owe the king any supper, nor would he obey in any manner to his unjust command." Naturally this produced an explosion of anger, but it ended in the saint furnishing the meal, which the king formally acknowledged as being accorded him out of charity, and not as a due.³⁷

S. Senan absolutely declined to pay tax to Lugaidh, the petty local king. Then the king sent his race-horse to be turned out on Senan's pasture, saying he would take his dues in this manner. Accidentally the horse was drowned, and this led to violent threats on the king's part and demand for compensation.

The three obligations required of a monk were obedience, chastity, and poverty. Obedience, according to the Life of S. David, must be implicit.³⁸ According to the Penitential statutes of Gildas, a monk who neglected executing at once the orders of his superior, was deprived of his dinner. If he forgot an order, he was let off with half a meal. If he should communicate with one whom the abbot had excommunicated, he was put to penance for forty days.³⁹ According to the rule of S. David, if a brother should even say of a book that it was his own, he was subjected to penance.⁴⁰ This, however, may be a later addition, for certainly, as we see by instances in the Lives of the Saints, it was not an universal rule. With regard to transgressions of the rule of chastity, great severity was shown, as the Penitential Canons show. A nun, who had transgressed, when she died, was sunk as an accursed thing in a bog.⁴¹

It is difficult to say with any amount of confidence how many were the offices of devotion performed by the monks during the day and night, because so many of the Lives are late, and writers described

³⁷ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 10-12.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁹ *Præfatio Gildæ de Pœnitentia*, caps. ix, xi, xii; in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁰ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

⁴¹ *Book of Lismore*, p. x.

the routine in the early monasteries very much as it was known to them in Benedictine abbeys of a far later date. They would seem to have had the Mass said, not daily, but on Sundays, and daily to have recited the entire Psalter; not, however, invariably in choir, but privately in most cases. They had, however, common offices: one only of these has been preserved, and is found in the *Book of Mulling*. It is that of Vespers, and is in part illegible. It began with an invitational, then came the Magnificat, then something that cannot be deciphered, followed by three verses from a hymn of S. Columba. Then ensued a lesson from S. Matthew, followed by three stanzas from a hymn by S. Secundinus, and three from a hymn by Cumian Fota. Then the three final verses of the hymn of S. Hilary of Poitiers, the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and a Collect.⁴²

Whether the *Laus perennis* formed an institution in the great monasteries generally cannot now be determined. We learn from Joscelyn's *Life of S. Kentigern* that it was the order at Llanelwy. It is spoken of as customary in Llantwit, Bangor Iscoed, Salisbury, and Glastonbury. But the authorities are late. The institution (*dyfal gyfangan*) is mentioned in the *Triads* and the *Iolo MSS.*,⁴³ but neither can be trusted. If it were established, then it would show how close a relation was maintained between Britain and the East, and how that a movement there communicated itself rapidly to our isle.

The archimandrite Alexander, an Asiatic by birth, renounced the world about the year 380 and became a member of the convent of the archimandrite Elias. He remained in it four years, then became a solitary in the desert for seven, and then suddenly was transformed into a missionary who traversed Mesopotamia in all directions. He gathered about him a congregation of 400 monks on the right bank of the Euphrates. Later he established another in Constantinople near the Church of S. Menas, then one at Gomon, and died about 430. Alexander was a man of intense energy and of narrow views. The Bible, and the Bible only, literally interpreted, was to be the rule of his order. Because he found therein, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," it was to be a missionary confraternity. Because our Lord said, "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor," therefore the monks were to be entirely penniless. Because He said, "Men ought always to pray and not to faint," on that account worship should be perpetual. But human nature did not allow each man to remain day and night in

⁴² *Liber Hymnorum*, 1898, p. xxii.

⁴³ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 393, 408; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 150.

prayer, consequently the work of incessant prayer and psalmody should be the function of the community. This was the capital point of his rule, and this constitutes an important feature in the history of Monachism. It created so much astonishment in men's minds, that the name given to the Order was ἀκοίμητοι, the Unsleeping Ones. It would be indeed remarkable if the *Laus perennis* could have reached Britain as early as the beginning of the sixth century.

The instruction given in the Celtic institutions was altogether oral. "There were no books except a few manuscripts, and they were highly prized. The instruction was generally given in the open air. If the preceptor took his stand on the summit (of the *rath* enclosure), or seated his pupils around its slopes, he could be conveniently heard, not only by hundreds but even by thousands. The pupils were easily accommodated, too, with food and lodging. They built their own little huts throughout the meadows, where several of them sometimes lived together like soldiers in a tent. They sowed their own grain; they ground their own corn with the quern or hand-mill; they fished in the neighbouring rivers, and had room within the common lands to graze cattle to give them milk in abundance. When supplies ran short, they put wallets on their backs, and went out in their turn to seek for the necessities of life, and were never by the people refused abundant supplies. They wore little clothing, had no books to buy, and generally, but not always, received their education gratuitously."⁴⁴

The routine in Clonard can be gathered from the *Life of S. Finnian*. We are told that on one occasion he sent his disciple Senach to see what all his pupils were doing. Senach's report was: "Some are engaged in manual labour, some are studying the Scriptures, and others, notably Columba of Tir-da-Glas, are engaged in prayer."⁴⁵

Owing to the scandals which had arisen through women being in the same monastery or college with men, the abbots often swung to the opposite extreme. S. Senan would not suffer a female, however aged, to enter the isle in which he lived with his monks. In some monasteries the interior within the *rath*, with its churches and dining-hall, was interdicted to women, and this interdiction had subsisted at Landevenec from the close of the fifth century for four hundred years.⁴⁶ At the close of the sixth century the rule was in full rigour in the monastery of S. Maglorius at Sark. Some went even further,

⁴⁴ Healy, *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, 1896, p. 202.

⁴⁵ *Vita SS. Hib., Cod. Salamanc.*, p. 200.

⁴⁶ De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, p. 517.

like S. Malo, who would not allow even a layman to come within the embankment.⁴⁷

That in spite of every effort to raise artificial barriers, a very pure morality did not always reign among the monks and pupils, appears from the *Penitential* of Gildas ; indeed, that reveals a very horrible condition of affairs.⁴⁸

The diet of the monks consisted of bread, milk, eggs, fish. On Sundays a dish of beef or mutton was usually added.⁴⁹ Beer and mead were drunk, and sometimes so freely that in the *Penitential* of Gildas provision had to be made for the punishment of drunkenness. At Ynys Byr, or Caldey Isle, where the abbot tumbled into a well when drunk, we are assured that S. Samson by his abstinence gave great offence to the monks. "In fact," says his biographer, "in the midst of the abundant meats and the torrents of drink that filled the monastery, he was always fasting, both as to his food and his drink."⁵⁰ The liquor drunk was not only ale, but also "water mixed with the juice of trees, or that of wild apples," that is to say, a poor cider; and we are assured that at Landevenec nothing else was employed.⁵¹ At Llantwit Major "it was usual to express the juice of certain herbs good for health, that were cultivated in the monastery garden, and mix this extract with the drink of the monks, by pressing it, by means of a little tube, into the cup of each ; so that when they returned from the office of Tierce, they found this tippie ready for them, prepared by the *pistor*."⁵² This was clearly a sort of Chartreuse.

Few features are more amazing in Irish or Welsh ecclesiastical history than the way in which whole families embraced the religious life. In a good many cases they could not help themselves ; the fortunes of war, a family revolution, obliged members of a royal family to disappear as claimants to a secular chieftainship, and to content themselves with headships of ecclesiastical institutions. But religious enthusiasm was also a potent power determining them in their choice. We see this among the Northumbrians. Bede says that the same phenomenon manifested itself there ; for chieftains who were entirely undisciplined in religion all at once posed as saints, founded monasteries, and placed themselves at the head of these institutions.⁵³ Into these monasteries they invited their friends and dependents.

⁴⁷ *Vita* 1^{ma} S. Maclovii, i, c. 40.

⁴⁸ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, p. 113.

⁴⁹ Reeves, *Life of S. Columba*, 1874, p. cxvii.

⁵⁰ *Vita* 1^{ma} S. Samsonis, in *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, sæc. i, p. 175.

⁵¹ *Vita* S. Winwaloei, ii, c. 12.

⁵² *Vita* 1^{ma} S. Samsonis, i, c. 16.

⁵³ *Hist. Eccl.* v, 23.

who brought in their wives and families. Bede was so concerned at this condition of affairs that he wrote to Archbishop Egbert, of York, to entreat him to put a stop to such irregularities, as he with his Latin ideas considered them. He says that in Northumbria there were many nunneries over which the chiefs set their wives.

In the Irish monasteries, as at Iona, the brethren constituted a monastic family, divided into three classes : (1) The Elders, *seniores*, dedicated to prayer and the instruction of the young, and to preaching ; (2) The lay brothers, *operarii*, who were principally engaged in manual labour ; and (3) The students and servitors, *juniores alumni*, or *pueruli familiares*.⁵⁴ When S. Samson constituted his monastery at Dol, he had, as his biographer says, the same three classes : *monachi, discipuli, famuli*. When he went to Paris to visit Childebert (*circ.* 554), he was attended by seven monks, seven pupils, and seven servitors.⁵⁵

The head of the monastic family was called abbot, *abba pater, pater spiritualis*, or simply *pater*, very often *senex*. He lived apart from the rest of the monks, probably on higher ground than the others, so that he might command the entire community with his eye. Under him was the *æconomus* or steward, often mentioned in the Lives of the Saints, notably in those of S. David, S. Cadoc, and S. Samson. His duty was to look after the temporal affairs of the monastery, and in the abbot's absence he took his place. Below the *æconomus* was the *pistor* or baker, who was not limited to making the bread of the community, but had oversight over all the food required. S. Samson was invested with this office in Ynys Byr, and was accused of having been extravagant, and wasting the money belonging to the convent.⁵⁶ The only other office of significance was that of the cook, *coquus*.⁵⁷ Among the pupils, the students were not limited to study : they divided among them the looking after the sheep and oxen, and the grinding of the corn in the mill.⁵⁸ They were set an A B C to acquire, but this probably means, not only the letters, but the rudiments of Christian belief. They had also to acquire the Psalms of David by heart, as already stated.

The monks were habited in a tunic and cowl ; the tunic was white, and the cowl the natural colour of the wool. In addition, in cold and bad weather, a mantle (*amphibalus*) was worn, sometimes called

⁵⁴ Reeves, *Life of S. Columba*, 1874, p. cvii.

⁵⁵ *Vita II^{da}*, ed. Plaine, ii, c. 20, p. 66.

⁵⁶ *Vita I^{ma}*, i, c. 35.

⁵⁷ *Book of Lismore*, p. 207.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 207, 269.

a *casula*, or chasuble.⁵⁹ A good many of the abbots, and even monks, seem to have delighted in clothing themselves in goat or fawn skins.⁶⁰

The Greek tonsure, which is called that of S. Paul, consisted in shaving the entire head; the Roman tonsure, as that of S. Peter, was restricted to the top of the head, leaving a band of hair round it. The tonsure of the Britons and Scots consisted in shaving all the front of the head from ear to ear. As we see by the Bayeux tapestry, a non-ecclesiastical tonsure was practised by the Normans in the eleventh century, which was that of shaving the back of the head. The meaning of a tonsure was the putting a mark on a man to designate that he belonged to a certain class or tribe, just as colts or sheep are marked to indicate to whom they belong. The knocking out of certain teeth, the deforming of the skull, and tattooing among Indian and other savage races, has the same significance. All men are born alike, and to discriminate among them, artificial means must be had recourse to. Circumcision among the Jews, Egyptians and Kaffirs, has the same meaning.

The tonsure was known in pagan Ireland, and was probably—almost certainly—general among all Celtic races, the Druids being tonsured to mark the order to which they belonged; and each tribe, if it did not wear its tartan, was distinguished by some sort of trimming of the hair.

The Celtic tonsure for ecclesiastics was possibly purposely adopted from that of the Druids; but this is not certain, as “adze-head” was a term applied to the Christian clergy as derisive, because their long faces and curved bald crowns bore a sort of resemblance to a tool, the so-called celt. Probably it was the Druidic tonsure with a difference.⁶¹ It was this tonsure, so unlike that adopted by the monks of the Rule of S. Benedict, which caused such indignation among the Latin missionaries. They could not away with it. It was the tonsure of Simon Magus.

Another point of antagonism between the Latin ecclesiastics and those of the Celtic Church was the observance of Easter. The Celtic rule has been repeatedly explained, and here we will only give it in brief from the lucid account of Mr. Hodgkin, in his account of S. Columbanus in Gaul. “In this matter the Irish ecclesiastics, with true Celtic conservatism, adhered to the usage which had been universal in the West for more than two centuries, whilst the Frankish bishops,

⁵⁹ Reeves, *Life of S. Columba*, p. cxviii; *Book of Lismore*, pp. 218, 219, 273.

⁶⁰ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 128.

⁶¹ Three kinds of tonsure are mentioned by the early Irish writers: the monastic (*berrad manaig*), the servile (*berrad mogad*), and the Druidical form (*airbacc giunnae*). *Tripartite Life*, i, p. clxxxv.

dutifully following the see of Rome, reckoned their Easter day according to the table which was published by Victorinus in the year 457, and which brought the Roman usage into correspondence with the usage of Alexandria. The difference, much and earnestly insisted upon in the letters of Columbanus, turned chiefly on two points : (1) The Irish churchmen insisted that in no case could it be right to celebrate Easter before the vernal equinox, which determined the first month of the Jewish calendar ; (2) they maintained that since the Passover had been ordained to fall on the night of the full moon, in no case could it be right to celebrate Easter on any day when the moon was more than three weeks old. In other words, they allowed the great festival to range only between the 14th and the 20th day of the lunar month, while the Latin Church, for the sake of harmony with the Alexandrian, allowed it to range from the 15th to the 22nd. In theory it would probably be admitted that the Irishmen were nearer to the primitive idea of a Christian festival based on the Jewish Passover ; but in practice—to say nothing of the unreasonableness of perpetuating discord on a point of such infinitely small importance—by harping as they did continually on the words ‘the 14th day’, they gave their opponents the opportunity of fastening upon them the name of *Quarto-deciman*, and thereby bringing them under the anathema pronounced by the Nicene Council on an entirely different form of dissent.”⁶²

As has been frequently pointed out, in the earliest monasteries the abbot had under him one or more bishops, subject to his jurisdiction. This condition of affairs did not last very long. The kings and chiefs had been accustomed to have their Druids at their sides, to furnish them with charms against sudden death and against sickness, and to bless their undertakings and curse their enemies. The abbot could not be with the chief or king ; as head of a tribe he had to rule a territory, and attend to the thousand obligations that belonged to his position. Accordingly, a bishop was sent to the chieftain to do the work of medicine-man for him ; this was the beginning of a change in the system, approximating it to that of the Church in the Empire. The bishop about the person of the chief eclipsed the abbot, and became the chief man in ecclesiastical matters belonging to the tribe. The *Lebar Brecc* describes the duties of a bishop : “ A bishop for every chief tribe—for ordaining ecclesiastics and for consecrating churches, for spiritual direction to princes and superiors and ordained persons, for hallowing and blessing their children after baptism (*i.e.*

⁶² *Italy and her Invaders* Oxford, 1895. vi. pp. 115-6.

confirming), for directing the labours of every church, and for le boys and girls to cultivate reading and piety." And the same authority gives as the duties of every priest in a small church : " O is required baptism and communion, that is the Sacrifice, and intercession for the living and the dead, the offering to be made Sunday, and every chief solemnity, and every chief festival. I canonical hour is to be observed, and the singing of the whole Ps daily, unless teaching and spiritual direction hinder him." ⁶³

We will now pass to a consideration of what is of importance relative to the saints of Cornwall. Here a very remarkable condition of affairs is found to exist. The whole of Penwith, or the Land's District, and the Lizard promontory as well, seem to have been held of, and its churches founded by Irish saints.

Then again, in all the north-east and east of Cornwall, even to the sea at Looe, are found saints of the Brychan family of Brecon. Unhappily, we have no early history of Cornwall that account for this. Only a glimmer of light comes to us through a few Lives, or notices of Lives, as remain.

But if the historians hold their peace, the stones cry out, and testify to a very extensive colonisation by Irish.

We have scanty notices that Caradog Freichfras, who was prince of Gelliwig, the territory about Callington, about 480 conquered Brecknockshire. He was himself related to the royal family of Brychan through his mother. Whether he entered into any connection with the ecclesiastics of that family and bade them occupy East North-east Cornwall, on condition that they vacated all their hold in Brecknock, or whether he drove them out, and they fled to Cornwall to the Irish colonists there, we do not know ; but certain it is that the Brychan family is represented very fully there. The Brychan family was Irish, and that there were Irish inhabiting the region which they moved we shall proceed to show. We know from an entry in *Cormac's Irish Glossary* that in the time of Crimthan Great the Irish held Map Lethain in the lands of the Cornish Britons *i.e.*, 366-378.

The lapidary inscriptions give us Irish names, and bear also Ogam script. The Maccodechet stone at Tavistock shows that a portion of the Deceti sept from Kerry was settled there. We find their names on monuments both in the west of Ireland and in Anglesey. Another stone is that of Dobunnus, son of Enobar. Dobunnus

⁶³ *Tripartite Life*, i, p. clxxxiii.

⁶⁴ *Three Irish Glossaries*, by W. Stokes, Lond., 1862, p. xlviii.

meets us again several times in Kerry. The Cumregnus stone at Southill has the Goidelic *Manci* on it, and one of the Lewannic stones the no less Irish *ingen*; the other bears the name of Ulcagnus, the Irish Olcan, that we find in Kerry as Olacon.⁶⁵ The Endellion stone to Breocan also has its relatives in Kerry and also in Pembrokeshire.

It can hardly be by accident that Cormac represents Map or Mac Lethain as a fortress of the Irish in Cornwall. This shows that it had been erected by the Hy Liathain, who occupied a tract of country in Munster close to Kerry. And if we suppose that the Brychan family derived from the Hy Brachain in Thomond, then their original seat was separated from Kerry by the estuary of the Shannon only. But it is not only the family of Brychan that is represented in North-east Cornwall; the closely related family of Gwent was also there. To this belonged Petroc of Padstow. Cadoc has also left his mark there, so has Glywys, and possibly Gwynllyw at Poughill. The Stowford stone inscribed to Gungleus looks as though it marked the resting-place of one of the same family. On account of the way in which the Saxons and Normans supplanted the Celtic saints with fresh dedications from the Roman Martyrology in Devon, we are not able to determine to what an extent North Devon was settled with ecclesiastical foundations from Brycheiniog and Gwent. But Brynach, son-in-law of Brychan, is found at Braunton, Nectan, a reputed son, at Hartland and Wellcombe. In Cornwall it is otherwise. We find them extending from Padstow Harbour to the Tamar, and south as far as to the river Fal.

Let us now turn to the west of Cornwall, to Penwith, or the Land's End district, and to Meneage, that of the Lizard. Here the whole district is ecclesiastically Irish. But, indeed, the invasion extends further east, as far as to Newquay, for we have near that S. Piran and S. Carannog, which latter, though not actually Irish by birth, laboured long in the Emerald Isle, and in the south it seems to have stretched with breaks to Grampound.

Happily we have some account of the invasion that took place there. This is in the *Life of S. Fingar*, written by a monk named Anselm, probably of S. Michael's Mount. There were in existence other records, to which Leland refers, and which he had seen, and from which he made all too scanty extracts, but these are lost for ever.

From such sources we learn that in the reign of Tewdrig, King of Cornwall, who had palaces or *duns* at Reyvier on the Hayle river, and at Goodern near Truro, and, if we may judge by the place-name,

⁶⁵ *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, by R. A. S. Macalister, London, 1897.

a court at Listewder in S. Kevern, a fleet of Irish arrived in Hayle Harbour, and that he fell upon them when they landed and killed a number of them. Some took refuge on Tregonning Hill, and entrenched and maintained themselves there. In the end the Irish must have got the upper hand, for they meted out the whole of the present deaneries of Penwith, Kerrier and Carnmarth between them, and extended their foundations into Powder as well. Whereupon they elevated those of their party who had been killed by Tewdrig to the position of martyrs. Had the Irish been expelled, Fingar would not have received a cult, but have been regarded as a free-booter who had met with his deserts.

The occasion of this migration is matter of conjecture, but this seems to best explain it.

The Hy Bairrche, descendants of Daire Bairrche, second son of Cathair Mór, King of Leinster and of all Ireland, had occupied the country between the Slaney and the Barrow, whilst the Hy Cinn-selach, who held what is now the county of Wexford, had been growing in numbers and power, and had become straitened between the Slaney and the sea.

Some time about the middle of the fifth century, Crimthan, King of the Hy Cinn-selach, invaded the Hy Bairrche territory and expelled the Hy Bairrche, although Mac Daire, the King, was his own son-in-law. There was no alternative ; as chieftain, he must allot habitations and land to the men of his tribe, and that could only be done by dispossessing a neighbour. It was an obligation not to be evaded. The expelled family sought and obtained assistance, and many and furious battles were waged between them. In 480 the Hy Bairrche defeated the Hy Cinn-selach at Kilosnadh, and in 483, in another battle, Eochaidh of the Hy Bairrche slew Crimthan, his own grandfather. Again ensued battles at Graine in 485, 489, and 492, in which latter Finchadh, King of the Hy Cinn-selach, was slain.

The Kings of Munster had become involved in the contest. In 489 in a desperate fight at Kelliston in Carlow, Aengus Mac Nadfraich, King of Munster, fell fighting against the Hy Bairrche. On the death of Eochaidh, his son Diarmidh succeeded, but the strife with the Cinn-selach was chronic.

Now it is precisely about this period of internecine war and of mutual expulsion of defeated rivals, 490-510, that the great influx of colonists from Leinster to West Cornwall took place, and it was from the district of the Hy Bairrche and of the Hy Cinn-selach. With the limited means at our disposal, we are unable to fix the date closely, but we know that colonists arrived when Tewdrig was King in Corn-

wall, and his date can be approximately determined from the Life of S. Petroc. We have further a certain number of Irish Lives of the Saints of Leinster that help to fix the period. When looked into, it will be seen that the saints who settled in West Cornwall came almost entirely from Wexford and Waterford and Ossory. The reason of their coming from Ossory we will now consider. This emigration was also apparently due to political causes.

The kings of Munster had claimed from Ossory what was called the "Eric of Edersceol" since the first century. This consisted in an annual payment of three hundred cows, as many horses, the same number of swords with gold-inlaid hilts, and purple cloaks, all to be delivered up at Samhain, the pagan Winter Feast, *i.e.*, November 1, at Cashel. And the south of Ossory was especially charged with this intolerable burden. It was resisted repeatedly.

Ossory is divided by mountain ridges into three great plains: to the north is the Magh Arget-Ros, the middle is occupied by the Magh Reighna, and southernmost of all is the Magh Feimhin. Ossory itself is the Land between the Waters—the Suir and the Barrow. It was the seat of the great tribe of the Hy Connla, divided into three septs.

During the first part of the second century, a distinguished chief of the race of Connla arose, named Aengus. He disputed the right of Munster to either jurisdiction or tribute in any part of Ossory. A battle was fought and the Munster men were completely defeated. The effect of this victory was the entire emancipation of the middle and south plains, on which the Eric of Edersceol had been levied.

In or about 170, when Eochaid Lamdoit was king of Ossory, the Munster men burst into the plains, with resolve to exterminate the Hy Connla. The Ossorians, in their distress, appealed to Cucorb, king of Leinster, and he sent Lughaidh Laoghis, at the head of a large force, to assist the Ossorians. The Munster men were defeated with great slaughter, but the kingdom of Ossory had to pay for this assistance by the cession of a large portion in the north-east, which thenceforth constituted the kingdom of Leix, under the overlordship of Leinster.

Another cession of territory took place later to the Hy Bairrche, who occupied the barony of Slieve Marghie in Queen's County. Ossory was consequently becoming contracted, and thrust more and more to the south, where most exposed to the attacks of Munster. Then Corc, king of Munster, about 370 encroached on Magh Feimhin, and established his fortress therein at Cashel. At the same time he revived the claim for the Eric of Edersceol, and to enforce it occupied

the whole of the southern plain. This was the beginning of a terrible time for the Ossorian royal family, and indeed for all the inhabitants of the central and southern plains. Lughaid, the prince of the Hy Duach, one of the septs of the Hy Connla, was, somewhat later, removed from Magh Reighna, and sent in banishment among the Corca Laighde, in the south-west of the county of Cork, or West Carberry.

Presently the Ossorians rose in a body, and, headed by such of their princes as were not detained in Munster, made a desperate struggle to recover their independence. They apparently met at first with some success, but very speedily Aengus Mac Nadfraich, grandson of Corc of Cashel, entered Magh Feimhin and swept through it to drive the Hy Duach out of the middle plain. At the same time a kinsman, Cucraidh, great-great-grandson of Corc, burst into Magh Reighna and Magh Airghet Ros from the north-west.

Aengus annexed the whole of Magh Feimhin, from which he expelled the Ossorians, and he peopled it with the Déisi, who were then settled in what we now call Waterford. As to Cucraidh, he was given all the remainder of Ossory, the two upper plains, as a kingdom under the overlordship of Munster. For seven generations this intrusive dynasty occupied upper Ossory.

Aengus had been baptized by S. Patrick in 470, and he fell in battle 489. We may set down this invasion and partition of Ossory as taking place about 460-480. We know that some of the Ossorian princes fled north, but what became of the people generally? May we not suppose that it was at this time, when life was impossible in the Land between the Waters, that they took ship and crossed into Cornwall? But it is not there only that we find them but in Brittany as well. It is certainly significant that among the saints of Western Cornwall and of Western Brittany we find so many Ossorian names. That the same sort of thing went on in Alba from Dal-Riada we know for certain. The Irish colonists and conquerors of the Picts gave their name to Scotland.

The Saints of Wales belong to eight great families.

1. That of Maxen Wledig, or Maximus the Usurper, 383-388. He is held to have married Elen, daughter of Eudaf, a petty prince in Arfon, and Aurelius Ambrosius probably claimed descent from Maximus. From the same stock came Rhydderch Hael, the prince who established himself supreme over the Cumbrian Britons; also Ynyr Gwent, prince of Gwent, who resided at Caerwent. This family would seem to have represented the Romano-British civilisation. The pedigree has been disturbed by confounding Elen, the wife of



MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS IN WALES

Maxen, with S. Helena, the wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine the Great.

2. That of Cunedda, which came from the North, from the defence of the Wall, and which had been seated in the ancient Roman Valentia. This family is said to have expelled the Gwyddyl from Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Môn, and to have also occupied Merioneth, Oswelion and Denbigh. From it proceeded the royal line of Gwynedd, which only came to an end with the last Llewelyn. From this family proceeded those important saints, Dewi and Teilo.

3. That of Cadell Deyrnllwg in Powys, which sent out a branch into Glywyssing. Cadell became prince of Powys with his seat at Wrox-

eter or Shrewsbury, in the fifth century, in consequence of a revolt of the Romano-British and Christian subjects of Benlli against their prince, who favoured paganism. Cadell was grandfather of Brochwel Ysgythrog. This family died out in the male line in Cyngen, murdered at Rome in 854. It produced several saints, notably S. Tyssilio of Meifod; and its branch in Glywyssing afforded the still more illustrious S. Pedrog and S. Catwg.

4. That of Brychan, king of Brycheiniog. This was an Irish family. Anlach, father of Brychan, made himself master of Brecknock. The family produced an incredible number of saints, who are found not only in their native district, but also in North-east and East Cornwall.

5. That of Caw of Cwm Cawlwyd in North Britain. Caw, however, was son of Geraint ab Erbin, Prince of Devon. Owing to the inroads of the Picts, the family of Caw was forced to abandon Arecluda and fly to Gwynedd, where they were well received by Cadwallon Lawhir (*v. Life of Gildas*), and Maelgwn, his son, who gave them lands, mainly in Môn, but apparently with the proviso that they should enter religion, so as not to form any small principalities which might be politically disadvantageous to the interests of the crown of Gwynedd. To this family, which never after its expulsion from the North obtained any secular importance, belonged Gildas, the famous abbot of Ruys.

6. That of Coel Godebog. According to Skene, he was king in North Britain, and from him Kyle now takes its name. He was ancestor of a large and important family, of Llyr Merini, prince in Devon and Cornwall, of Urien Rheged, and of the poet Llywarch Hên. From him descended a great many saints, but none of any great importance. Pabo Post Prydynn, and Dunawd, and Deiniol of Bangor, are the most conspicuous.

7. That of Cystennin Gorneu, a stock that, like the family of Maxen Wledig, derived from an usurper of the purple, Constantine the Tyrant, 408-411. It was from this stock that issued the family of Caw, given above (5). It would seem to have supplied Domnonia (Devon and Cornwall) with princes, who were called either Constantine or Geraint. The saint of this family that proved most remarkable was S. Cybi, unless we prefer the notorious Constantine whom Gildas denounced for his crimes and immoralities, but who was afterwards converted.

8. That of Emyr Llydaw from Armorica. The Welsh pedigrees derive Emyr from Cynan, son of Eudaf and brother of Elen, wife of Maximus. But this is certainly imaginary. All that we really know about Emyr is that probably, on account of an usurpation

by one of his sons, the others had to fly from Armorica and take refuge in South Wales, where they were well received by Meurig, king of Morganwg, who gave to several of them his daughters in marriage. The Bretons pretend that this eldest son, who sent his brothers flying, was Llywel, or Hoel, "the Great". From Emyr proceeded some men of great mark, as S. Samson, S. Padarn, and, by a daughter, S. Cadfan and S. Winwaloe.

To the number may perhaps be added that of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, but it did not proceed beyond the second generation, and then only through daughters.

For centuries, due partly to the sneer of Bede, and partly to the proud contempt with which the Latin Church regarded all missionary work that did not proceed from its own initiative, the English Church has looked to Augustine of Canterbury as the one main source from whom Christianity in our island sprang, and Rome as the mother who sent him to bring our ancestors to Christ. That he did a good and great work is not to be denied; he was the Apostle of Kent, where the Britons had all been massacred or whence they had been driven. But Kent is only a corner of the island. And it was forgotten how much was wrought by the Celtic Church, even for the Teutonic invaders, far more than was achieved by Augustine.

It was the Church in Wales which sent a stream of missionaries to Ireland to complete its conversion, begun by Patrick, a child perhaps of the Celtic Church of Strathclyde, though Professor Bury thinks of South Britain. It was from Ireland that Columcille went to Iona to become the evangelist of the Picts. From Llanelwy went forth Kentigern with 665 monks and clerics to restore Christianity in Cumbria, which extended from the Clyde to the Dee. It was from Iona that the missionaries proceeded who converted all Northumbria, Mercia, and the East Saxons and Angles. Honour to whom honour is due, and the debt of obligation to the Celtic saints in the British Isles has been ignored or set aside hitherto.

But they did more. To them was due the conversion of Armorica. Evidence shows that nothing, or next to nothing, was done for the original inhabitants of that peninsula by the stately prelates of the Gallo-Roman Church. They ministered to the city populations of Nantes and Rennes and Vannes, and did almost nothing for the scattered natives of the province. They were left to live in their heathenism and die without the light, till the influx of British colonists changed the whole aspect, and brought the people of the land into the fold of Christ.

In Wales, whenever the Norman prelates could, they displaced the

Celtic patrons from their churches, and rededicated them to saints whose names were to be found in the Roman Calendar. The native saints were supplanted principally by the Blessed Virgin, but in a number of instances by S. Peter. To take a few instances from one diocese only, that of S. Asaph. Llanfwrog (S. Mwrog), Llannefydd (S. Nefydd), and Whitford (S. Beuno), have been transferred to S. Mary. Northop (S. Eurgain), and Llandrinio (S. Trinio) to S. Peter; Guilsfield (S. Aelhaiarn), and Llangynyw (S. Cynyw) to All Saints. The two southern cathedrals have received rededications, S. David's to S. Andrew, and Llandaff to S. Peter. Bangor was rededicated to S. Mary, but S. Asaph has escaped.

In Cornwall, Altarnon has been taken from S. Non and given to S. Mary, S. Neot's at Menhenniot to S. Anthony, S. Finnbar at Fowey has been supplanted by S. Nicholas, S. Merryn by S. Thomas à Becket. At Mawnan, S. Stephen was coupled with the patron when the church was rededicated. S. Dunstan, on a like occasion, was linked with S. Manaccus at Lanlivery and Lanreath. S. Elwyn had to make way for S. Catherine, and S. Ruan for the apocryphal S. Christopher.

The same process has been going on in Brittany, as we shall see in the sequel.

The Celtic Saints may have employed methods which to us seem strange and uncouth, but they were in accordance with the spirit of their times; they were not free from the legal conceptions prevalent in their race, and these coloured their procedure, and carried them to commit acts hardly in accordance with the Gospel, but they were whole-hearted in their devotion to Christ, and with a fervour of zeal in their hearts which was a consuming fire. They accommodated themselves to superstitions, only that they might divest these usages of their evil accidents and direct them into harmless currents. They sacrificed themselves, their comforts, their everything that makes life sweet and joyous, for the sake of their Divine Master, and to win a barbarous people to the precepts of Christ. They were but human, fallible and sometimes faulty, but what they undertook to do, that they succeeded in doing. The Spirit of God, ever present in the Church, calls to action in different ways according to the needs of the time, and the habits of those among whom work has to be done. "There are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." ⁶⁶ *Spiritus ubi vult spirat; et vocem ejus audis, sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat: sic est omnis, qui natus est ex Spiritu.* ⁶⁷

⁶⁶ 1 Cor. xii. 5.

⁶⁷ S. John iii, 8.

II. LESSER BRITAIN

A KNOWLEDGE of the migrations to Armorica, and the colonisation of that portion of what is now called Brittany, is essential for the appreciation of the history of Wales and all south-western Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries.

/ The Armorican peninsula had been occupied from prehistoric times by a non-Aryan race, probably speaking an agglutinative tongue, a people that erected the rude stone monuments strewn broadcast over the land, a people whose dominating religious sentiment was the cult of the Dead. These were subjugated by the Gauls, moving into and occupying the Armorican peninsula in five invading clans, the Veneti, the Nanneti, the Redones, the Curiosoliti, and the Ossismi. These invaders did not exterminate the natives, they reduced them to servitude, and refused them the right to bear arms.

That the religion and religious practices of the conquered race influenced the dominant Gaul is what we might expect. The influence of a conquered race never does die out so soon as the conquerors are established. It affects, moulds and modifies the religion and ritual of the conquerors. And the testimony of the sepulchres in Armorica proves that such was the case there.

Cæsar conquered Armorica, and well nigh exterminated the free-born Gaulish Veneti. Thousands were massacred, and their wives and children were sold into foreign bondage.¹

In B.C. 52, when Vercingetorix, besieged by Julius Cæsar in Alesia, appealed to all Gallic patriots to rise against the Romans, each of the Armoric tribes furnished a contingent of three thousand men, except the Veneti, too exhausted and broken, who were incapable of sending any.²

• The Gauls settled in Armorica as a dominant race rapidly assimilated the customs, religion, and adopted the language of their Roman conquerors. They seem even to have abandoned Celtic names for those of Rome, as among the inscriptions of the period recovered, hardly more than two preserved personal names of Celtic origin.

Under the later emperors, the fiscal exactions in the provinces became so intolerable that commerce and agriculture languished. Lactantius says:—"The number of those who received pay had become so greatly in excess of those who had to pay, that the colonials,

¹ "Itaque omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit." *De Bello Gallico*, iii, 16; Dion Cass., xxxix, 43.

² *De Bello Gallico*, vii, 75.

crushed by the enormity of the imposts, abandoned the cultivation of their lands, and tillage reverted to forest."³ He adds details. "The fields were measured to the last clod; the vine stocks and tree boles were all counted; every beast, of whatever kind, was inscribed, each man's head was reckoned. The poor people of town and country were swept together into the towns, the market-places were crowded with families. Every proprietor, together with the free-men of his household and his serfs, was registered; torture and the lash were applied on all sides. Sons were forced to give evidence against their fathers, and they were placed on the rack to extort this from them. The most faithful slaves were constrained by torture to testify against their masters, and wives in like manner against their husbands. In default of other evidence, men were themselves tormented to give evidence against themselves, and when at last they were overcome by pain, they were inscribed for goods they did not possess. No exception was allowed for age and infirmity. Sick and weakly men were all enrolled on the register as taxable. . . . And yet full confidence was not reposed in the tax-collectors. Others were sent in their traces to find out fresh occasion for imposts. Moreover, every time the tax was raised, not as if something had been discovered which had hitherto escaped the charge, but these new agents piled up the dues so as to give proof of their own activity. The result was that the cattle dwindled, men died, and yet payment was extorted for the dead as from the living, so that finally one could neither live nor die without being taxed."⁴

These exactions became more oppressive as the Empire became feebler. The Gallo-Roman landed proprietors, the free-men, were constrained to abandon their villas, which they were no longer in a position to maintain, and to retire within the walls of Nantes, Rennes and Vannes.

The great towns of Aleth, Corseul, Carhaix, Vindana (Audierne), Vorganium, etc., fell into ruins. The bishops of the three cities absorbed the magisterial office, and became civic as well as ecclesiastical rulers. But their authority hardly extended beyond the walls of the towns; and if they attempted anything towards the conversion of the aboriginal inhabitants, it was in a half-hearted, desultory fashion that produced no lasting results. To add to the general misery, bands of sea rovers, described as Frisians, probably Saxons, descended on the coast, plundering, butchering and burning.

At length the tyranny of the Empire could be endured no longer.

³ *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, vii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

and just as the wave of German invasion began to wash over Eastern Gaul, the Armoricans rose in the West, and expelled the Roman magistrates, inspired, as Zozimus informs us, by the example of the insular Britons.⁵ Rutilius, in his *Itinerary*, informs us that Exuperantius, prefect of the Gauls, succeeded in reducing the Armoricans in 415-20, but this success was temporary. Sidonius Apollinaris attributes the same success to Litorius, præfectorial lieutenant in 435 or 436,⁶ and to Majorian, lieutenant of Aetius in 446.⁷

The efforts of Aetius were by no means as successful as they are represented by Sidonius, for in the very next year, 447, the same Majorian, despairing of being able to reduce the Armoricans, invited the barbarous Alans to invade the country and to exterminate a people he was himself unable to subdue.⁸ This proposal would have been carried into effect but for the intervention of S. Germanus of Auxerre.

"In 453," says Jornandes, "the Armoricans supplied a contingent to the confederation that defeated Attila on the plains of Châlons."⁹ A little later, after 468, we hear of Britons in Armorica near the mouth of the Loire. In that year a certain Arvandus, prefect of Gaul, overwhelmed with debt and ripe for any expedient for recovering himself, intrigued with Euric, king of the Visigoths, and was arrested and tried for high treason in the ensuing year. At the trial a letter of his was produced, in which he exhorted Euric not to make peace with the Emperor Anthemius, but "as the Britons established upon the Loire" were the most able auxiliaries that the Empire possessed, he advised Euric to fall on them, and rid himself of them, before proceeding overtly to attack the imperial power."¹⁰

Anthemius then called on these Britons (*solatia Britonum postulavit*) to make common cause with him against the Visigoths, and they responded by sending twelve thousand men, under their King, Riothimus, up the Loire to Bourges, to the assistance of the Count Paul, who was assembling an army against Euric. But the Roman general was leisurely in his proceedings, and Riothimus remained for nearly a twelvemonth at Bourges, during which time Sidonius Apollinaris entered into correspondence with him about some captives the Britons had taken.¹¹

Riothimus, at last, impatient at his enforced inactivity, marched

⁵ Under the date of 408.

⁶ *Carmen VIII*, v. 245 *et seq.*; Avitus, *Panegy.*, ii.

⁷ *Carmen V*, v. 211-2.

⁸ *Prosp. Aquit., Chron.*, A.D. 442.

⁹ *De rebus Gothicis*, xxxiii.

¹⁰ "Britannos supra Ligerim sitos impugnare oportere demonstrans." Sidon. Apollin., *Epist.*, i, 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 9.

against the Visigoths, whom he encountered at Déols. He was defeated and compelled, along with the survivors of his host, to take refuge among the Burgundians.¹²

That these Britons at the mouth of the Loire were Christians appears most probable, for at a provincial council held at Tours in 461, only a few years previous to this, appeared Mansuetus, bishop of the Britons (*episcopus Britannorum*), who sat with Eusebius of Nantes and Athenius of Rennes. This is the first intimation we have of British settlers in Armorica, and in sufficient numbers to send a contingent of twelve thousand men against the Visigoths.

We are not told that Britons were involved in the risings in 408, 415, 435, 446, but we are afforded the significant hint that they revolted, "following the example of the insular Britons." That British colonists were settled at the mouth of the Loire early in the fifth century is accordingly established.

But had they, at this time, begun to settle in other parts of Armorica? We have no contemporary records to show that they had, but there are many indications that they had done so.

According to the Gloss on Fiacc's Hymn on S. Patrick, "Patrick and his father, Calpurn, Concess his mother . . . and his five sisters . . . his brother, the deacon Sannan, all went from Ail Cluade over the Ictian Sea (the English Channel) southward to the Britons of Armorica, that is to say, to the Letavian Britons, for there were relations of theirs there at that time."¹³

The statement is late, but it embodies an early tradition. It is not said to what part of Armorica these emigrants went, but as we hope to show, when dealing with S. Germanus the Armorican, there is some ground for supposing it was to Cornugallia.

According to the Life of S. Illtyd, he was son of Bicanys, an Armorican of British blood, driven from Armorica apparently by some family quarrel which deprived him of his land.¹⁴ Illtyd cannot have been born later than 460. So also Cadfan, with a large party of refugees, came to Wales early in the sixth century, and we can hardly suppose them to have been flying from a country recently occupied. Cadfan has left his traces in Cornouaille and in Léon.

Again, we have Budic, a king of Cornugallia, living as a refugee in South Wales, and that in the sixth century, but at the very beginning of it.¹⁵

¹² Greg. Turon., *Hist.*, ii, 18; Fernandes, *De rebus Gothicis*, xlv.

¹³ *Tripartite Life of S. Patrick*, Rolls Series, ii, 473-5. *Liber Hymn.*, ii, p. 177. See also preface to Hymn of S. Sechnall, *Liber Hymn.*, ii, 3.

¹⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 158.

¹⁵ *Book of Llan Dŵv*, p. 130.

Some little weight may be allowed to the catalogue of the princes of Cornubia or Cornugallia in the Cartulary of Landevennec.¹⁶ The Cartularies of Quimper and of Quimperlé give the same list, but obviously derived from the same source. They reckon three kings of the Britons in Cornubia as reigning before Grallo, who ruled from about 470 to about 505. Allow fifteen years for each reign, and this gives us 435 for the first.

What is more convincing is that when the colonists arrived at a later period, they found the land already parcelled out into *plous* and *trefs*. There was occasion for a great migration taking place in the fifth century, but immigration had probably begun earlier.

Under the date 364 Ammianus Marcellinus says:—"At this time the trumpet, as it were, gave signal for war throughout the Roman world; and the Barbarian tribes on the frontier were moved to make incursions on those territories which lay nearest to them. The Picts, Scots, Saxons and Attacotti harassed the Britons with incessant invasions."

Owing to the weakness of Britain, that had been partly Romanised, and which was ill defended by a few legions, the island became a prey to invaders. It was fallen upon from all sides. The Irish, or Scots as they were then called, poured over the western coast and occupied nearly the whole of Wales. The Picts broke over the Wall from the north, and the Germans invaded and planted themselves on the east and south-east. Large bands of Irish swept over Devon and Cornwall. Their inscribed stones with ogams, as has been already shown, can be traced into South Devon.

From Irish records we find that after 366 Crimthan the Great was warring in Alba, Britain, and exacting tribute from it.¹⁷

In 368, according to Ammianus, matters had reached a critical pass in Britain. Theodosius was sent into the island, and he drove the Picts out of London. The relief was temporary. No sooner was he gone than they returned. It is of this period of protracted misery that Gildas writes: "Britain groaned in amazement under the cruelty of two foreign nations, the Scots from the north-west, and the Picts from the north." According to him the Britons appealed to Rome, and a legion was sent into the island, which inflicted severe losses on the invaders. It was, however, almost immediately with-

¹⁶ *Cart. Land.*, ed. De la Borderie, Rennes, 1888, pp. 172-3.

¹⁷ "Capessivit postea imperium Crimthanus Fidlogi filius . . . qui septemdecem annos regnavit, et Albaniâ, Britanniâ et Galliâ victorias retulisse illarumque regionum incolas vetusta documenta produnt." (Keating, from Munster documents.)

drawn, and then, "their former foes, like ravening wolves rushing upon the field left without a shepherd, wafted across by the force of the oarsmen, and the blast of the wind, broke through the boundaries, spread slaughter on every side, and overran the whole country." Again a legion was sent, but was withdrawn with a notice that no further assistance would be accorded to the island. "No sooner were they gone," continues Gildas, "than the Picts and Scots landed from their boats, in which they had been borne across the Cichian Valley (the Irish Channel)." The Britons "left their cities, abandoned the protection of the Wall, and dispersed in flight; and the enemy pursued them with more unrelenting cruelty than before, and butchered our countrymen like sheep."

"The power of the Cruithnians (Picts) and of the Gaels (Scots) advanced into the heart of Britain," says Nennius, "and drove them to the Tin (Tyne). . . . Their power continually increased over Britain, so that it became heavier than the Roman tribute; because the object aimed at by the Northern Cruithnians and Gaels was the total expulsion of the Britons from their lands."¹⁸

"Great was the power of the Gael over Britain," says an early Irish writer, Cormac, b. 831, d. 903. "They divided Alba (i.e., Albion = Britain) amongst them in districts . . . and their residences and royal forts were built there." He mentions Glastonbury as in their hands, and the fort of Mac Lethain in the hands of the Cornish Britons.¹⁹

In the meantime the Saxon pirates had ravaged and depopulated Armorica. Sidonius Apollinaris shows us what devastation they wrought, and how they extended their attacks as far south as the Saintonge.²⁰ To more completely sweep the country they planted stations along the coast from which they penetrated inland, burning and slaughtering.²¹ The results of these raids are revealed by the spade at this day. All the old sites of Roman-Gaulish towns in Brittany lie buried under beds of ashes.²²

Finally, as Procopius says, the region of Armorica was the most desert in all Gaul.²³ This peninsula accordingly offered a field for settlement by Britons flying from the swords of the Picts and Scots. The exodus began in the fifth century, but it was renewed, and the

¹⁸ *Irish Nennius*, ed. Todd & Herbert, 1848, p. 73.

¹⁹ *Glossary of Cormac*, ed. W. Stokes, 1862, pp. xlvi, xlix.

²⁰ Sidon. Apoll., *Paneg. Aviti*, vv. 370-2, 348-50.

²¹ Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, ii, 18, 19; v, 27; x, 9.

²² De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. i, 221-225.

²³ *De Bello Gothico*, iv, 20.



IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN BRITANNY

Britons came over in great masses when the Angle, Jute and Saxon obtained a foothold in Britain and rolled back the natives to the Severn.

Three main principalities had been founded in Armorica before the new rush of colonists, flying from the Saxons. These were the principalities of Dumnonia, Cornubia and Venetia, afterwards called Bro-weroc. There was another very soon absorbed into Dumnonia, that of Léon, and Po-her was a county in the folds of the Monts d'Arrée and the Montaignes Noires which eventually fell to Cornubia, but which was for a while closely connected with Dumnonia. It is reasonable to suppose that natives of insular Dumnonia, or Devon, flying before the inrush of the Irish, had settled Armorican Dumnonia and given to it the name it bore. So, also, we may suppose that Cornubia received its settlers from Cornwall, whence also the natives were driven by the Irish, who seized on the Land's End and Lizard districts, as also by a great body of emigrants from Gwent. Caerleon may have furnished the settlers who gave the name to Léon.

Vannes, Nantes and Rennes remained Gallo-Roman cities, as hostile in feeling to the new colonists as they were to the new Frank kingdom.

At first, probably, the settlers maintained a political connexion with the mother country. This is implied by a passage in the *Life of S. Leonore*, "Fuit vir unus in Britanicia ultra mare, nomine Rigaldus, qui in nostra primus venit citra mare habitare provincia, qui dux fuit Britonum ultra et citra mare usque ad mortem." ²⁴

What makes this probable is that we meet with the names of the Dumnonian princes Geraint and Selyf or Solomon, in Armorica, as though certain lands had been reserved to them as royal domain in the newly settled lands. But if this recognition of the British princes was at first allowed it cannot have endured for long.

How completely Armorica became settled from Britain appears from many allusions. Thus in the *Life of S. Illtyd* we read:—"Letavia. . . sumpsit originem a matre Britannia. Erudita fuit a matre, filia." ²⁵

The biographer of S. Padarn, a late writer, gives us the traditions: "Corus ecclesiasticus Monachorum Letaviam deserens Britannie meditabantur oras appetere. . . . Caterva sanctorum ad originem unde exierunt, transmittit sub ducibus." ²⁶

The *Book of Llan Dâu*, with reference to Guidnerth, of Gwent, who

²⁴ De Smedt, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiograph.* in Bibl. Nat. Parisiens. ii, 153.

²⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 158.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

for the murder of his brother was sent on pilgrimage, says that he departed for Armorica, as "Guidnerth himself and the Britons and the archbishop of that land were of one tongue and of one nation, although divided by a tract of land." ²⁷

We are obliged to repose largely on inference with regard to the earliest settlement of Britons in Armorica prior to the migration of the first half of the 6th century. But when we come to the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, it is otherwise, we have documentary evidence concerning that.

Gildas, after describing in his inflated style the miseries of his native Britain, goes on to say:—"Some of the wretched remnant were consequently captured on the mountains and killed in heaps. Others, overcome by hunger, came and yielded themselves to the enemies, to be their slaves for ever, if they were not instantly slain, which was equivalent to the highest service. Others repaired to parts beyond the sea, with strong lamentation, as if, instead of the oarsman's call, singing thus beneath the swelling sails, 'Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for eating, and among the Gentiles hast Thou scattered us.'"²⁸ Gildas does not say whither the British refugees betook themselves, that we learn from other sources.

Eginhard, writing under the date 786, says: "At the period when insular Britain was invaded by the Angles and Saxons, a large portion of its inhabitants traversed the sea and came to occupy the country of the Veneti and the Curiosoliti, at the extremity of Gaul."²⁹

Procopius says: "The isle of Britain is inhabited by three nations that are very numerous, each having its own king, the Angles, the Frisians (*i.e.*, Saxons) and the Britons. These nations possess such an abundance of men, that annually a number of them quit the isle along with wives and children, and emigrate to the Franks, who assign to them as dwelling the most distant portion of their empire."³⁰

Procopius, living at Byzantium, was ill-informed. There is no evidence of Saxons and Angles settling in the extremities of Gaul, though there is of "Frisians" ravaging the north coast of Brittany. Ernold Nigellus, in 834, also speaks of the migration to Armorica, and says that it was conducted peaceably.

The author of the *Life of S. Winwaloe* says:—"The sons of the Britons, leaving the British sea, landed on these shores, at a period

²⁷ *Book of Llan Ddw*, p. 181.

²⁸ *De excidio Brit.*, ed. Williams, p. 57.

²⁹ "Cum ab Anglis et Saxonibus Britannia fuisset invasa, magna pars incolarum ejus mare trajicientes, in ultimis Galliæ finibus, Venetorum et Curiosolitarum regiones occupavit." *Annal.*, ann. 786.

³⁰ *De Bello Gothico*, iv, 20.

when the barbarian Saxon conquered the Isle. These children of a beloved race established themselves in this country, glad to find repose after so many griefs. In the meantime, the unfortunate Britons who had not quitted their country, were decimated by plague. Their corpses lay without sepulture. The major portion of the isle was depopulated. Then a small number of men who had escaped the sword of the invaders abandoned their native land, to seek refuge, some among the Scots, the rest in Belgic Gaul."³¹ Wrdistan wrote this in the ninth century, but he rested his statements on early authorities, though for this particular fact he quotes only popular tradition, "ut vulgo refertur."

To about the years 460 or 470, in documents relating to Armorica, that name prevails, and the inhabitants are spoken of as Veneti, Ossismi, Curiosoliti, Redones, or Naneti. But from that date all is altered. The name of Armorica disappears, the ancient peoples are no more spoken of, but the land is entitled Lesser Britain, and the inhabitants are Britons.³²

The linguistic evidence is conclusive as to the extent and completeness of the colonisation. "The Armorican Breton tongue was not only closely akin to that of the insular British or Welsh, it was identical with it."³³ Now, if there had been a mere infiltration of colonists, the result would have been a fusion of the British with the base Gallo-Latin of the inhabitants. But this did not take place. The Gallo-Roman population had disappeared out of the country places, and remained only in the towns. Those natives who clung to the fields and woods were of the original non-Aryan stock, and probably still retained their agglutinative tongue.

M. de Courson³⁴ first promulgated the theory that the settlers in Breton Cornubia were refugees from the North of Britain, and he was followed by M. de la Borderie. According to him the Otadini of the Wall fled before the Picts and found a home in Armorica, and founded the settlement of Cornubia there. He relied on no

³¹ Britannia insula, de qua stirpis nostra origo olim, ut vulgo refertur, processit . . . Longe ab hujus moribus parvam distasse sobolem suam nos opinor, quæ quondam ratibus ad istam devecta est, citra mare Britannicum, terram tempore non alio quo gens—barbara dudum, aspera jam armis, moribus indiscreta—Saxonum maternum possedit cespitem. Hinc se cara soboles in istum conclusit sinum, quo se tuta loco, magnis laboribus fessa, ad oram concessit sine bello quieta." *Vita S. Winwaloei*, i, 1.

³² De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, p. 248.

³³ J. Loth, *L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique*, p. 92.

³⁴ De Courson, *La Bretagne*, Paris, 1863, p. 163; De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, pp. 301-2. J. Loth, in *Revue Celtique*, t. xxv, p. 91 et seq.

etter foundation than this:—that there was a Corstopitum on the Wall near Newcastle, and that the name of Quimper was Curio-stopitum. Also:—that a troop raised among the Cornovii of the Severn Valley had been sent to guard the Wall, as noticed in the *Votitia Dignitatum*, “Sub dispositione ducis spectabilis Britanniarum, per lineam valli, Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum.” The *Votitia* gives us information relative to the disposition of troops during the period between the reign of Constantine and the retreat of the Roman armies.

Now if Cornovii from the Severn basin had been stationed on the Wall, when the troops were recalled, they would go whither summoned. If they dispersed, they would return to their own homes. Moreover Corstopitum is not the same name as Curiosopitum, of the Coriosoliti.

What we do know is that Cunedda and a large body of men, who did hold the Wall, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, when unable to keep out the barbarians any longer, took refuge, not in Armorica, but in Gwynedd, where they drove the Irish out of all the north and west of Wales, and established themselves in Gwynedd and Ceredigion, and portions of Powys. It is more probable that the native Britons of Cornwall founded the Armorican Cornubia, when forced to migrate by the occupation of the entire west of the peninsula by the Irish from Ossory, and the whole north-east and the Tamar down to the mouth by the settlers from Brecknock, who were also of Irish extraction. It is significant that something like fifty saintly Celtic patrons in Cornwall should also be culted in Finistère, whereas there is not a trace of any saint from the district of the Otadini having ever effected a colonisation there. But no argument can be based on identity of names, for the name Cornubia for Cornwall does not occur earlier than the end of the 7th century. Previously the whole peninsula is spoken of as peopled by the Dumnonii.

On settling in Armorica, the colonists from the beginning organized themselves into tribes. But the tribal system had to be modified to meet the new conditions.

The ancient tribe consisted of those who were united by blood. In all the Celtic tribes the tie of kinship, of blood relationship, was that which bound them together. But in process of time this went through considerable modification, and upon blood-relationships other links were forged, those of mutual rights and mutual protection. “This new idea of mutual protection very soon entered most forcibly into tribal development, and almost eclipsed the original idea of the tie of blood-relationship being the basis of tribal society. The tribe

was to a great extent reorganised upon these new ideas, which played the most important part in the later tribal development."³⁵ This alteration was forced on the colonists, as annually fresh arrivals came to the coast, and solicited adoption into the already constituted *plebes*, if they were not numerous enough themselves to form an independent *plebs*.

Thus the tribe was reorganised on a broader basis. It formed a *plou*, the Welsh *plwyf*, consisting of the original band that had come over, made up of tribesmen, under their hereditary chief, who disposed of his clansmen in their *trefs*, and the settling of controversies among them took place in the chieftain's *lis*. That the regular *cantref* was formed is improbable, the *trefs* were fewer, and were multiplied as fresh settlers arrived and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the chief and were received into his tribe by adoption.

The artificial character of the organisation apparently may be traced in the settlement of Fragan, the father of S. Winwaloe. He was married to Gwen Teirbron, she being an Armorican Briton by birth. So as to have as many *plous*, nuclei for tribal formations, he not only established one near S. Briec, and a second in the county of Léon, but also constituted a *plou* for his wife, Gwen, near S. Briec, and another near his own place in Léon.

The consolidation of the *plous* under sovereign princes came somewhat later. The first to exercise sovereign jurisdiction in Dumnonia was Rhiwal, about the year 515,³⁶ but he did not venture to do so without the permission of the king of the Franks.³⁷

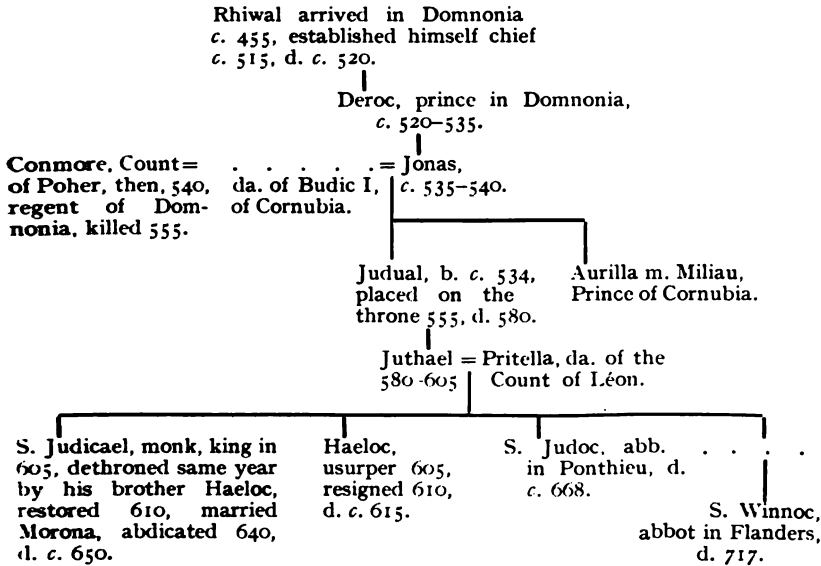
Rhiwal, who died about 520, was succeeded by his son Deroc, who ruled till about 535, and to him succeeded his son Jonas, who died about 540, leaving a son Judual. Conmore, Count of Poher, married the widow of Jonas, and usurped the rule over Domnonia. Judual, fearing for his life, fled to S. Leonore, who facilitated his escape to the court of Childebert. This Frank king confirmed Conmore in his

³⁵ Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 59.

³⁶ "Riwalus Britanniae dux filius fuit Derochi . . . Hic Riwalus, a transmarinis veniens Britannii cum multitudine navium, possedit totam minorem Britanniam tempore Chlotarii regis Francorum . . . Hic autem rexit Britanniam tempore Dagoberti filii Clotharii." Ex Cod. MS. S. Vedasti Dom Morice, *Preuves*, i, 211; Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, sac. ii. The statement that Rhiwal possessed all Little Britain is an exaggeration. This is the Rhiwal who received and welcomed S. Brioc. De la Borderie supposed they were distinct personages because he placed the period of S. Brioc earlier than need be, misled by the assumption that Brioc had been a disciple of Germanus of Auxerre.

³⁷ Le Baud, *Hist. Bretagne*, 1638, p. 65. The passage is quoted under S. Brioc further on. Also the late *Chron. Briocense*, quoted by De la Borderie, *Hist. Bret.*, i, 353.

usurpation, made him his lieutenant in Brittany, and retained Judual in honorary restraint at Paris, till S. Samson obtained leave in 554 to organise an insurrection for the overthrow of Conmore, who was killed in 555, and then Judual was elevated to the throne of Domnonia. The pedigree of the princes of Domnonia, as well as can be made out, is as follows :—



Léon was probably, as already said, colonised from Gwent, or at all events the chief who consolidated the settlement there under his rule, and gave the name to the land, probably came from Gwent. His name was Withur. In the *Life of S. Paul of Léon* he is mentioned as the chief; he died probably about 525. According to the *Life of S. Tudwal*, Deroc, son of Rhiwal, exercised rule in Léon, perhaps by usurpation in the old age of Withur. It is singular that no mention is made of him in the *Life of S. Paul*. About the year 520 Deroc became Prince of Domnonia.

Perhaps the next chief was Ewen, who is mentioned in the *Life of S. Goulven* as having his *lis* or court at Lesneven, and who was engaged in repelling an invasion of Saxon or Frisian pirates on the coast. But if so, he has been confounded by the writer of the *Life* with another Ewen of Léon who lived much later. Soon after, Conmore, Count of Poher, began his encroachments by annexing Léon, and thenceforth it formed a portion of Domnonia.

Cornubia, or Cornugallia, was formed into a principality earlier

than Domnonia. The Cartularies of Landevennec, Quimperlé and Quimper give the following list of the princes :—(1) Rivelen Mor Marthou; (2) Rivelen Marthou; (3) Cungar; (4) Gradlon Mur; (5) Daniel Dremrud; (6) Budic et Maxenri duo fratres. [Horum primus rediens ab Alamannia interfecit Marchell³⁸ et paternum consulatum recuperavit.]³⁹ (7) Jan Reith, Huc rediens Marchel interfecit; (8) Daniel Unva; (9) Gradlon Flam; (10) Cungare Cherovnoc; (11) Budic Mur, and six others to Alan Caniart, who died 1040, and to Hoel V, who died 1084.

The list is mainly fabulous. The contest of one king with Marchell, attributed in the Cartulary of Quimperlé to Budic, is attributed in that of Quimper to Jan Reith. According to the *Life of S. Melor*, Jan Reith did not succeed Budic, but preceded him, and was the father of Daniel. We must admit the existence of Grallo the Great, who ruled from about 470 to about 505. After him confusion reigns in the Catalogue. Budic certainly did not take refuge in Alamania. We have no means of determining who Grallo was, and whether Budic was of his family.

Budic had two sons, Miliau and Rivold. Miliau reigned for seven years, which were years of prosperity in the land. He was assassinated by his brother Rivold in or about the year 537, and Rivold then married his brother's widow, and obtained the assassination of his nephew Melor in 544. Rivold himself died in the same year; and then it was that Budic II, who had been a refugee in Demetia, returned to Cornubia and became king. We are now on safer ground. He seems to have lived till 570, when he left a son, Tewdrig, who was driven from his principality by Macliau, bishop of Vannes and count of Bro-weroc. Tewdrig, however, raised a body of men, attacked Macliau and killed him in 577, and recovered his principality. Of this there is nothing in the catalogue of princes, and we may well question whether any reliance can be placed on the names that occur earlier.

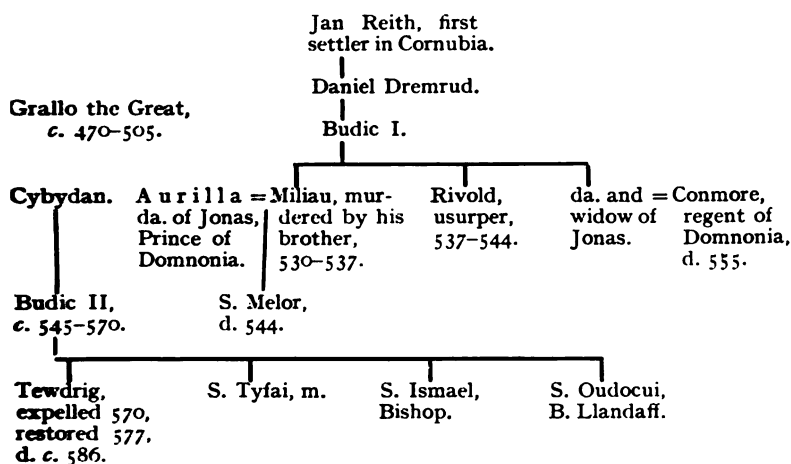
Daniel Dremrud may perhaps be recognised as the founder of Plou Daniel in Léon. Jan Reith is probably purely mythical.

After the death of Tewdrig the history of Cornubia remains a blank for a tract of time. If there were princes, they left no trace in history.

³⁸ Gregory of Tours, in his *Libri Octo Miraculorum*, Lib. i, mentions a barbarian chief of the name of Marchil Chillor, who besieged Nantes in 497. Is it possible that this can be the same man?

³⁹ This passage is in the list in the *Quimperlé Cartulary*. That of Quimper agrees with that of Quimperlé.

The pedigree of the princes of Cornubia, for what it is worth, as made out from the Lives of S. Melor and S. Oudocui, is as follows :—



The dynasties of Brittany have been thrown into the utmost confusion by historians attempting to construct pedigrees on the principle that all Brittany was subject to a single king from the latter part of the fifth century, and by acceptance of the fable of Cynan Meiriadog⁴⁰ as a basis for their reckonings. Taking Geoffrey of Monmouth's preposterous nonsense as if it were genuine history, they have proceeded to extravagances in no whit less absurd.

In the eighteenth century Gallet, a priest of Lamballe, drew up a genealogy of the house of Rohan, and with the object of flattering the family derived its descent from Cynan Meiriadog and from the family of S. Patrick.

Gallet was quite unaware that Brittany in the early period of its history was not an undivided kingdom, and that it comprised independent principalities and equally independent counties. In the manufacture of the genealogy he collected all the material he could, all the names of counts and princes he was able to find in the records

⁴⁰ The fable of Cynan Meiriadog had its origin in this. Nennius says that after Maximus had taken soldiers from Britain to assist him against Gratian, he did not send them back to Britain, but he planted them from the pond on the Mons Jovis (the Gt. S. Bernard) to the city of Cantquic and to the western hill of Cruc Ochidient. The next to speak of this is Eudo, Bishop of Léon in 1019, and he names Conan Meriadoc. Then came Geoffrey of Monmouth and developed the whole story. See De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, ii, 441-63. But he goes too far in saying "le glorieux Conan Meriadec doit prendre place dans la brumeuse phalange des monarques imaginaires." He makes no allowance for genuine Welsh traditions.

of the duchy, and he set to work to link them together by imaginary ties.

Whatever document came to hand and would serve his purpose, Gallet accepted it with impartial disregard of its historic value. He took Geoffrey of Monmouth in grave earnest. He looked at Colgan's *Trias Thaumaterga*, and picked out from his notes what he had to say about the sisters of the Apostle Patrick, and about his residence in Letavia. He got hold of Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. He read, besides, the *Life of Gildas* by the monk of Ruys, and that also furnished him with some names.

Unhappily Dom Morice, in most matters sensible, was led away by Gallet, and in his *Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Bretagne*, Paris, 1750, he inserts a pedigree that identifies Cynan Meiriadog with Caw of Cwm Cawlwyd, and further marries him to Darerca, sister of S. Patrick.

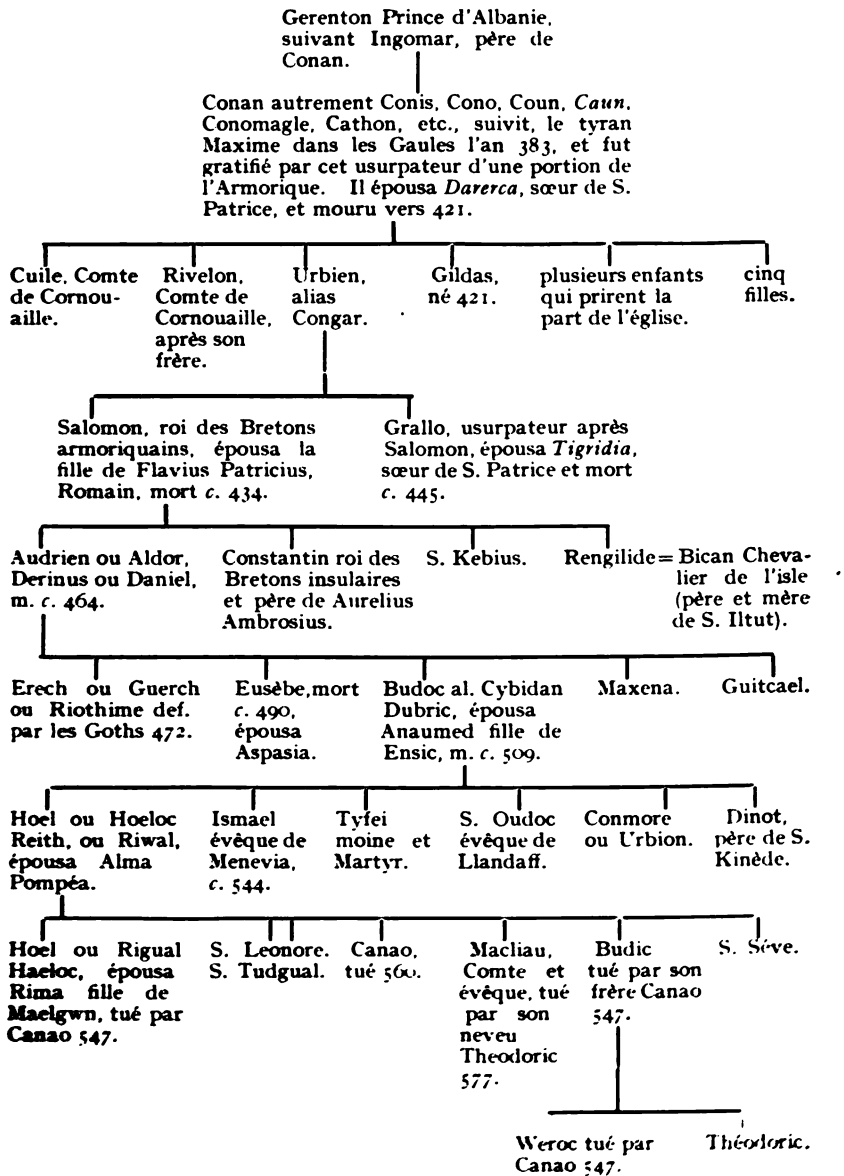
The pedigree, as he gives it, will be found on the opposite page.

The assumptions and absurdities of this pedigree are marvellous. Cynan Meiriadog, who accompanies Maximus into Gaul in 383, has to wife a sister of S. Patrick, and his grandson Grallo marries another sister. By her Cynan is father of Gildas, who died in 570.

Having ascertained from the *Life of S. Cybi* that Erbin was son of Geraint and father of Solomon, which is a mistake according to the Welsh genealogies, for by them Geraint was son, not father, of Erbin—he intercalates Conan Meriadoc, whom he identifies with Caw, between Geraint (Gerenton) and Erbin (Urbien). Next, he identifies Weroc I, who died in 550, but whom he throws back to 472, with Riothim, who assisted the Emperor Anthimius against the Visigoths in 468, and was defeated and killed. Moreover, he gives forty-one years for three generations. But the pedigree is so preposterous, that it does not deserve serious notice being taken of it. Yet it was accepted by Deric and printed with amplifications in his *Ecclesiastical History of Brittany*.

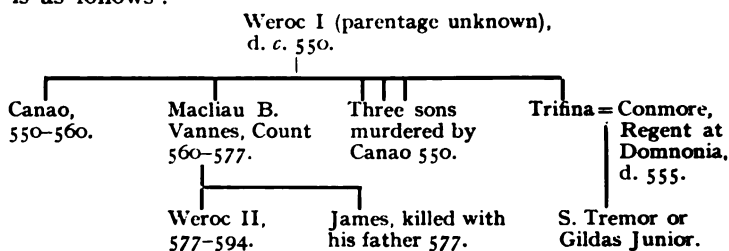
Moreover, this fictitious pedigree has infected the hagiologists of Brittany. For instance, Garaby, in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, 1839, under Dec. 30, has Sainte Tigride, Reine de Bretagne, and relates how she was daughter of Calpurnius and Conchessa, sister of S. Martin of Tours, and continues, "Ses belles qualités la firent demander, en 382, pour épouse, par Grallon, compagnon d'armes de Conan, puis duc de Domnonia, comte de Cornouaille, et enfin, en 434, troisième roi de Bretagne."

It is astounding how the imagination of modern as well as ancient martyrologists runs riot. Grallo never had anything to do with



Domnonia, and he never was sole king over Armorica. That Grallo, who actually died about 505, should have been companion in arms in 383 with his grandfather, who was also his brother-in-law, is absurd, but the amazing thing is that sensible men writing ecclesiastical history and hagiography should not have seen these anachronisms and avoided them.⁴¹

The genealogy of the Counts of Bro-weroc, as well as can be made out, is as follows :—



Vannes, or Bro-weroc, was colonised from Britain at a very early period, but the first chief of whom we hear was Weroc I, who ruled from about 500 to 550. He was succeeded by his son Canao, who murdered three of his brothers and would have killed another, Macliau, if the latter had not fled for his life and taken refuge with Conmore, regent of Domnonia. Canao fell in 560, and was succeeded by his brother Macliau, who was killed in 577, and was in turn succeeded by his son Weroc II.

Such is the epitome of the early history of Domnonia, Léon, Cornubia and Vannes. This latter was not esteemed more than a county, as the British settlers did not obtain possession of the city itself till Macliau, who had got himself chosen bishop, united Bro-weroc under his rule along with the city itself on the death of his brother. But it relapsed after his death, for in 590 the Bishop Regalis complained that he was as it were imprisoned by the Britons within the walls of the city.

Venantius Fortunatus praises Felix, bishop of Nantes (550-582), for having "defeated the British claims, and maintained the covenant sworn to," and he speaks of the Britons as "ravishing wolves," and congratulates him at being able to hold them off.⁴² There was no love lost between the bishops and denizens of the old Gallo-Roman

⁴¹ The pedigree in my *Lives of the Saints of the Princes of Cornouaille and Domnonia* is very inaccurate. At the time it was drawn up I lacked sufficient original material. (S. B. G.)

⁴² "Pro salute gregis, pastor per compita curris. Excluseque lupo tuta tene-
tur ovis, insidiatores removes, vigil arte Britannos." Ven.. *Fort., Miscell.*, iii,
c. 8.

cities and the independent Britons who occupied the whole country round.

These latter were careful to keep on good terms with the Frank kings. We have seen how Rivold of Domnonia would not assume rule till he had received permission to do so from Clothair. The usurper Conmore obtained commission to rule in Armorica as lieutenant for that king. The bishops and abbots did not venture to accept grants of land till these were ratified by the King in Paris. Thus Withur sent S. Paul thither to have his concession of lands confirmed. Brioc in like manner had his ratified, so also had S. Samson. It was not till the battle of Vouillé in 507 that Clovis and his Franks became masters of Nantes and of the greater part of Aquitania, but he did not gain dominion over the Britons of Armorica. Procopius says, "The Franks, after their victory over the last representatives of Roman authority in Gaul, finding themselves incapable of contending against Alaric and the Visigoths, sought the friendship of the Armoricans and entered into alliance with them."⁴³

Not till 558, when Canao of Bro-weroc gave asylum to Chramm, son of Clothair, king of Soissons, did the Britons embroil themselves with the Franks. Hitherto they had been practically independent, and, at least till the death of Clovis in 511, under their own kings;⁴⁴ after that they rendered acknowledgment of being feudatories to the Frank kings.

After the secular organisation came that which was ecclesiastical. Kinsmen of the settlers who were in the ecclesiastical profession came over, and were accorded patches of land on which to plant their *lanns*, and monastic institutions sprang up, that supplied missionaries to the natives who had hitherto been left in paganism, and ministered as well to the colonists, and served as schools for the education of the young. Every monastery had its *minihi*, or sanctuary, about it, to which runaway slaves, those pursued in blood-feud, and refugees in war, might fly and enter thereby the ecclesiastical tribe. Something like fifty-three of these *minihi*s still bear the name in Brittany.⁴⁵

The *Lann* was the mother church, corresponding to the *arnoit* church of the Irish. Subject to these were the *trefs*, each with its chapel, and served from the mother church. Thus the vast parish of Noyala, in Morbihan, till 1790 comprised the *trèves* of Gueltas,

⁴³ *De Bello Gothico*, i, 12.

⁴⁴ "Chanao regnum integrum accepit. Nam semper Britanni post mortem Chlodovechi regis sub potestate Francorum fuerunt, et duces eorum comites, non reges appellati sunt." Greg. Turon., *Hist. Func.*, iv, 4.

⁴⁵ P. De la Vigne-Villeneuve, in *Mém. de la Soc. Arch. d'Ille et Vilaine*, 1861.

Kerfourn, Croixanvec, S. Thuriau and S. Geran. That of Pluvigner consisted of a conglomeration about the mother church of nine *trèves*, Camors, Baud, Languidic, Landévant, Landaul, Brech, Plumergat, Brandivy and La Chapelle-Neuve. But here, owing to later colonisation of British on a *plou* that had been settled by the Irish, several of these *trèves* became independent *lanns*.

In many districts in Brittany the term *lann* has fallen away. This was due to the devastation caused by the Northmen in the ninth century, when the country was laid waste, and the inhabitants fled, some far inland into France, some to England, where they were afforded protection by Athelstan. When they returned the old order had changed. The *lanns* were no longer monastic churches with their *trèves* dependent on them, and the parish was organised on the Latin system, and was called after the founder simply, without the prefix *lann*.

But this was not all. Not every Armorican mother church bore the title of *Lann*, for the founders came with colonies and at once established tribes, and the place where each secular chief settled was not called a *lann*, for there was in the new lands no such a demand for "sanctuary" as in the old, at least not at first, and the settlement took its name as a tribal centre, *plou*. Thus we have Ploermel, the *plou* of Arthmael. He was an ecclesiastic and a monk, and we might have supposed that his headquarters would have been designated a *lann*. But it was not so. In Wales, where the princes were tyrannous, and internecine feuds were habitual, there the *llan*, the sanctuary of refuge, was a most important feature of the ecclesiastical order, and it afforded a means to the saint for recruiting his tribe. But in Armorica, where the British colonists bore down the natives, and there was no resistance, and there was room at first for expansion without fratricidal war, there the *plou* became of more importance than the *lann*.

The monastic founders had each his *loc*, corresponding perhaps to the Irish *cill*. It was the place of retreat for Lent, and when the Saint desired to escape from the daily worry of management of a monastery and a colony. These *locs* were originally in very solitary places, in islands, or in the depths of the forest. But about a good many of them villages and even towns have grown up.

As was the case in Wales, so in Brittany, in addition to the *trévial* churches, there are numerous chapels in a parish. In that of Noyala, already mentioned, there are nine. In that of Ploemeur there were something like thirty-six.

The chapel was erected either to commemorate some event that had taken place on the spot, either in the life of a saint, or on the scene of a battle; or else it was erected in fulfilment of a vow made in a moment of danger; or, again, was due to a dream connected with the place; or to the finding there of an image; or, lastly, a chapel was erected for the accommodation of a noble family which had its château there. The chapel was not a part of the organism of the tribe or afterwards of the parish. It was an outcrop.

These chapels are extremely numerous in Brittany. They are for the most part opened only once or perhaps twice in the year, when Mass is said in them, on the occasion of the "Pardon" = Patronal Feast. Yet some of them are magnificent monuments of architecture, far surpassing the parish churches of the district in which they are situated.

It was due, probably, to the close and friendly relations maintained with the Franks, and association with them, that we hear of no strife engendered in Brittany over Celtic peculiarities in ecclesiastical matters. In the monasteries, indeed, the Celtic tonsure was employed till the year 890, and clergy, even bishops, were often married; but the difference in the time of the celebration of Easter does not appear to have existed. Apparently, the British Church in Armorica quietly accepted the Roman computation. Had it been otherwise, we should certainly have heard of the fact.⁴⁶

One curious document has come to light that shows how strained were the relations between the Gallo-Roman bishops of the old cities at an early period and the clergy of the new colonies from Britain. Between 515 and 520 Licinius, Metropolitan of Tours, Eustochius, bishop of Angers, and Melanius, bishop of Rennes, issued a monitory letter addressed to a couple of British priests named Lovocat and Cathiarn, requiring them to desist from certain practices that offended their ideas of what was seemly. "We have learned, by the report of the venerable priest Sparatus, that you do not desist from taking about certain tables into the cabins of your compatriots, upon which you celebrate the divine Sacrifice, in the presence of women called *conhospitæ*, and who, whilst you are administering the Eucharist, administer to the people the Blood of Christ. . . . And we have deemed it our duty to warn you, and supplicate you by the love of Christ, and in the name of the Unity of the Church, and of our common faith, to renounce this abuse of tables, which, we doubt not on your word, to have received priestly consecration; and these women,

⁴⁶ See further, under *S. Gwenael*.

whom you call *conhospitæ*, a name which one cannot hear or pronounce without shuddering." ⁴⁷

There was probably a good deal of exaggeration in this charge. The three prelates had only the word of Sparatus to go upon, and he bore these British priests a grudge. They had, as yet, no churches, or the churches were few and far between, and they went their rounds, ministering to their fellow immigrants the Bread of Life, as they were in duty bound. They carried with them portable altars. This was customary among the Celts, and was adopted throughout the Latin Church in the eighth century. S. Leonore, on his voyage to Armorica, carried his altar-stone with him. S. Carannog cast his into the Severn sea, and it was washed up on the Cornish coast. The custom of having portable altars was introduced from Iona into the Northumbrian Church, and the earliest known example is that of about 687, in Durham Cathedral. ⁴⁸

But early in the sixth century these portable altars were novelties, and were accordingly condemned by the three bishops above named.

As to the *conhospitæ*, they were doubtless the wives of Lovocat and Cathiern, for the Celtic clergy were usually married. Indeed, married bishops and priests appear in Brittany many centuries later. The first order of saints in Ireland, according to the often-quoted *Catalogue of the Orders*, "*muliarum administrationem et consortia non respuebant*"; ⁴⁹ it was later, when the Irish Church became monastic, that the women were excluded. The three bishops misunderstood the position of these women. They supposed them to be the *mulieres subintroductæ* who had given so much trouble from the Apostolic period. ⁵⁰ That these British priests allowed the women to administer the chalice to communicants is perhaps a libel, a bit of spiteful gossip retailed by Sparatus.

Owing to the troubles in the South of Ireland at the close of the fifth century, when the Ossorians were expelled their land by Aengus MacNadfraich and Cucraidh, who gave it over to be peopled by the

⁴⁷ Cognovimus quod vos gestantes quasdam tabulas per diversorum civium vestrorum capanas circumferre non desinatis, et missas, ibidem adhibitis mulieribus in sacrificio divino quas conhospitas nominatis, facere præsumatis, sic ut erogantibus vobis Eucharistiam, illæ vobis positis calices teneant, et sanguinem Christi populo administrare præsumant." Lovocat et Cathiern, par Duchesne, *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 1885, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, i, 69; Darcel, "Les Autels portatifs," in Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, xvi, 77-89.

⁴⁹ *Vita SS. Hib. Cod. Sal.*, col. 161.

⁵⁰ Gildas refers to the custom, "Religiosam forte matrem seu sorores domo pellentes et externas veluti secretiori ministerio familiares indecenter levigantes vel potius . . . humiliantes." *De Excid.*, ed. Williams, p. 164.

Southern Déisi, there would seem to have been an exodus of these dispossessed Ossorians, and they appear to have settled, some in West Cornwall and others in the west of Brittany. But it was not from Ossory alone that a migration took place. The Hy Bairrche were driven out of their territory between the Slaney and the Barrow by the Hy Cinnselach about the middle of the fifth century, and internecine war was chronic in Leinster to the close of that century.

We find settlements of Irish saints, all from Leinster and Munster, along the coasts of Finistère and Léon, with churches under the invocation of Conlaeth of Kildare, Senan of Iniscathy, Setna, Fiacc of Sletty, Ronan, Ciaran of Saighir, Ciannan, Brendan of Clonfert; and the cult of S. Brigid was widely diffused there.

But there is another curious phenomenon connected with the Irish settlements. A cluster of these is found in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine. The mouth of the Rance and the Bay of Mont S. Michel were doubtless favourite places for landing. Up the Rance seven Irish bishops, with pious women accompanying them, plodded at the very beginning of the sixth century, planting churches all the way, and finally reached Rheims in 509, where they were received by S. Remigius.⁵¹ These came from the South of Ireland, and were quite independent of another settlement, unique in its way, made from Ulster.

S. Servan was founded by Serf, the Irish master of S. Kentigern of Glasgow; S. Maccaldus, bishop of Man, is venerated as founder at S. Maugand, near Montfort. In the twelfth century the church is entered as that of S. Magaldus.⁵²

Maccald or Maughold had been a robber chief; he was converted by S. Patrick, and in punishment for his crimes sent adrift in a coracle without oars, and with his feet chained.⁵³ He drifted to the Isle of

⁵¹ See under S. Achebran and S. Germanus MacGoll.

⁵² De Corson, *Pouillé de Rennes*, t. vi, s. nom. S. Maugand.

⁵³ The punishment of sending adrift on the sea was not uncommonly exercised. The criminal was clothed in a vile garment, his feet bound with an iron fetter, and the fetter-key was cast into the water. He was placed in a *navis unius pellis*, a coracle whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one-fold deep, and without food, oar or rudder, committed to the winds and waves. Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni, in *Tripartite Life*, p. 288. In the case of aggravated manslaughter, according to the *Senchus Mór*, this was the punishment. When Fiacha, son of Domnall, was killed by the men of Ross, his brother Dormchadh asked advice of S. Columcille as to what punishment he should deal out to the people of Ross. S. Columcille sent two of his clerics to the spot, and they ordered that sixty couples of the men and women of Ross should in this manner be sent adrift on the sea. O'Curry, *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, p. 333.

Man, and we may suspect that the Patrician bishops there, Coindrus and Romulus, recommended him to go abroad and practise penance and learn the monastic rule in Armorica, where his past history was unknown. Hard by the settlement of Maughold is that of another Irishman, S. Uniac, as now called, but the patron is S. Toinnau.⁴⁴ It is not possible to identify him; he can hardly be Toimen, bishop of Armagh, who belongs to a later period. He became bishop in 622 or 623. S. Brendan also had a monastery on Césambre, and a foundation at S. Broladre, and at S. Brelade in Jersey.

Professor Zimmer has pointed out some evidences of Irish influence in Brittany. "In 884 the Breton monk Wrmonoc, in his monastery of Landevenec in Brittany, wrote a Life of S. Paul of Léon, who lived at the beginning of the sixth century. This Life is based on written sources, and the associates of S. Paul who had come with him from the south-west of Britain are quoted, with their full names. On one of them, Quonocus, there is the additional remark: 'Whom some, adding to his name after the fashion of the people over-sea, called Toquonocus'; and further on we read that the name Woednovius in the same way had a second form, Towoedocus. We meet with several other instances. . . . During the sixth and seventh centuries the custom prevailed in Ireland, and especially in the monasteries, of forming familiar names from the full name form, which always consisted of two components, such as Beo-gne, Lug-beo, Find-barr, Aed-gen, and Aed-gal. It was done by taking one component of the full name and adding the diminutive ending *-ān*, *-iān* (e.g. Beoan, Findan, Finnian, Aedan), or by prefixing *mo-*, *to-*, and often adding *ōc* as well, like Maedoc (= *Mo-Aed-oc*), Molua, Tolua, Mernoc, Ternoc. Thus a person of the name of Beogne was familiarly called Beoan ('little Beo'), Mobeoc ('my little Beo'), or Dobeoc ('you little Beo'); in the same way, Lugbeo, Luan, Molua, Moluan, Tolua, Moluoc all denote the same person; similarly, Becan, Mobecoc, Tobecoc, Ernan, Mernoc, Ternoc, etc. How strong must the influence of the Irish element at the beginning of the sixth century have been in the monasteries of Brittany and of the south-west of Britain, if British monks imitated this truly Irish way of forming familiar names! It is, then, not surprising that among the Breton saints of the sixth and seventh centuries we find a dozen or more who by tradition and name are Irish."⁴⁵

Again: in the middle of the sixth century the bards of Ireland,

⁴⁴ De Corson, *op. cit.* s.v. S. Uniac. In the tenth century (913) the name is given as S. Toinianus; in the fourteenth century, S. Thonnanus. He has his Holy Well in the parish.

⁴⁵ *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, Lond., 1902, pp. 68-9.

to their consternation, discovered that one of their famous traditional tales, concerning a cattle raid of some historic importance, was lost. Fragments were to be found, but not the tale entire. After Ireland had been ransacked for it in vain, they met in council, in 580, and appointed a commission to proceed to Brittany and visit the Irish settlers there, and inquire whether any of them had carried off a complete copy of the great tale. The commission went to Armorica and returned, having succeeded in recovering the desired work.⁵⁶ Now, this surely shows that the Irish settlers had remained to stay, for unless they had done so they would hardly have carried off their romantic and historic literature with them.

Much difficulty exists in the identification of the saints in Brittany, owing to the various forms their names assume. Some, we are expressly told, had double names; Brioc was also Briomaglus. Kenan was known as well as Colledoc, and Meven had a second name, Conaid.

But it is in the mouths of the people that great transformation has taken place. Gorlois becomes Ourlou, Conlaeth is now Coultitz, Judoc is Josse, and Brigid is rendered S. Berch'et. Guethenoc is transformed to Goueznou, and Gwen is translated into Candida in Lower and Blanche in Upper Brittany. Beudoc is softened to Bieuzy, and Fingar into S. Venner.

It is certainly a fact deserving of consideration that, whereas Armorica may have been, and probably was, colonised by refugees from all the south coast of Britain, nevertheless its ecclesiastical organisation should be due solely to the Welsh. There is no trace whatever of British saintly founders from other portions of Britain.

The Strathclyde family of Caw may be accounted Welsh, for it was settled in Anglesey or Môn by the generous hospitality of

⁵⁶ O'Curry, *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, p. 8. The passage is in the *Book of Leinster*, and runs thus:—"The Filés (poets) of Erin were now called together by Senchan Torpeist (chief poet of Erin and of S. Cieran of Clonmacnoise) to know if they remembered the Tain bo Chuaigne in full; and they said that they knew of it but fragments only. Senchan then spoke to his pupils to know which of them would go into the countries of Letha to learn the Tain, which the Sai had taken eastwards after the Cuilmenn. Eminé, the grandson of Nininé o Muirgen, Sanchan's own son, set out to go to the East."

The date would be about 580. Letha is the Letavia of the Lives of the Welsh Saints, or Llydaw, *i.e.* Armorica, though sometimes it is used for or confounded with Latium. Here it is certainly Armorica. The going East means that the traveller crossed either to Alba, or from Wexford or Waterford to Porth Mawr at S. David's and thence travelled to the next crossing to Brittany. The Cuilmenn, the great collection of history, is unhappily now lost. It is referred to in the Brehon Laws, and in an ancient Irish Law Glossary. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Maelgwn. But this family is only represented in Morbihan and Côtes du Nord by Gildas and his sons.

The principal Welsh saints who have made their mark in Brittany are Brioc, of Irish origin, but born in Ceredigion, Cadoc, Curig, Carannog, David, Paulus Aurelianus, Arthmael, Edeyrn, Teilo, Tyssilio, Gudwal, and Non. There were others, of Armorican extraction on one side or the other, who had their education in Wales, as Illtyd, Samson, Malo, Maglorius, Meven, Tudwal, and Leonore.

Other founders were natives of Armorica, but of British origin. as James (Jâcut), Gwethenoc and Winwaloe, Gwenaël and Goulven. Of the chieftains who held rule we know but little, and almost nothing of whence they came. But we do know that Rhiwal of Domnonia was from South Wales, for he was a kinsman of Brioc of Ceredigion and of Hywel. Withur of Léon was cousin of Paul, who came from Penychen in Glamorganshire. Budic of Cornubia was for some years a refugee in South Wales, where he married. Possibly enough, he went to the land whence his forefathers had come.

As in Wales and in Cornwall, so has it been for long an accepted procedure in Brittany that the national saints should be displaced from their niches to make way for others who are foreign, Italian for the most part, but who have received the imprimatur of Rome; so also have the diocesan calendars been weeded of the Celtic saints. S. Avée, though she gives her name to a parish, has had her church transferred to SS. Gervasius and Protessus. S. Cynan (Kenan) has been rejected where lie his bones, for Caius, the pope. S. Derrien has retired to make room for Pope S. Adrian; S. Budoc or Bieuzy, the friend and disciple of Gildas, has been supplanted by S. Eusebius. At Laurenan, the titular saint Renan has been set aside for S. Renatus, and at Audierne, S. Rumon is replaced by S. Raymond Nonnatus. At S. Briec, the founder fades before the more modern S. Guillaume Pichon.

In the united dioceses of Tréguier and S. Briec not a Celtic saint is admitted into the calendar during the months of January, February, June, July, August, September and December. In March only one, Paul of Léon. On the other hand, the calendar is invaded by foreigners. Of Italians there are fourteen in January and February, whereas of early Breton saints but five are admitted in the entire year.

In that striking story of Ferdinand Fabre, *L'Abbé Tigrane*, the Bishop of Lormières is represented in his Grand Seminary turning out the Professors as not sufficiently ultramontane to please him, and when the teachers murmur, he blandly asks with what do they reproach him. "With what?" asks the Professor of Ecclesiastical

History. "In your passion for reform you have, so to speak, abolished the Proper of the Diocese, one of the most ancient and most glorious of the Martyrologies of France."

At Tréguier, the founder, S. Tudwal, is eclipsed by the Advocate S. Yves "advocatus sed non latro"; yet everywhere, to the Breton people, each saintly founder might appeal in the words of the apostle, inscribed under the statue of Tudwal at Tréguier: "Et si aliis non sum apostolus, sed tamen vobis sum; scitis quæ præcepta dederim vobis per Dominum Jesum." ⁵⁷

III. ON WELSH AND CORNISH CALENDARS

IN drawing up calendars of the Celtic saints of Wales and Cornwall considerable difficulties have to be encountered. A good many of the saints who founded churches, or to whom churches have been dedicated, do not find their places in any extant ancient calendars; and it is not possible to rely on many of the modern calendars that do insert the names of the early Celtic saints, as trustworthy. Too often these names have been inserted arbitrarily and without authority. We will give a list of such calendars as exist, and which have served more or less for the composition of the calendar that we have drawn up; and for attribution of day to each Saint.

I. THE WELSH CALENDAR

The Patronal Festival or Wake of a parish was ordinarily called in Welsh *Gwyl Mabsant*, "The Feast of the Patron," and in more recent times it began on the Sunday following the festival proper, and lasted the whole of the week, though in the early part of last century it seldom exceeded the third or fourth day. There were but few, if any, parishes wherein its observance survived the sixth decade of last century. It lost its distinctively religious character with the Reformation, and thenceforth became merely an occasion for a fair, rustic games and sports, and every kind of merry-making. Where there are to-day several fairs held in a parish, that on the Feast of the Patron is frequently spoken of as the Fair of such-and-such a Saint's Festival, *e.g.* *Ffair Wyl Deilo* at Llandeilo Fawr. The fair was held, Old Style, on the Saint's Festival, as entered in the calendar; New Style, it is eleven days later. To take S. Teilo's Fair at Llandeilo. It was formerly held on his day, the 9th of February; now it is on the 20th.

⁵⁷ 1 Cor. ix, 2; 1 Thess. iv, 2.

There are, however, instances of the fairs being held, or, more correctly, begun, on the eve of the Saint's Festival; *e.g.* at Llanrwst (S. Grwst, December 1), a fair was held November 30, O.S., now it is December 11; at Tregaron (S. Caron, March 5), fairs are now, or were, held on March 15, 16 and 17; and at Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant (S. Dogfan, July 13), fairs are held on July 23 and 24. Similarly, fairs were held at Nevin (S. Mary) on eves of the Festivals of the B.V.M., and at Abergele (S. Michael) on Michaelmas Eve. Sometimes the fair date was not altered, N.S., as at Llanwnen (S. Gwynen, December 13) and Llandaff (S. Teilo, February 9); and in like manner, old fairs on Festivals of the B.V.M. were still kept, N.S., on those days at Rhuddlan and Swansea.

From this it will be seen that one cannot always rely upon the fair day in fixing the Saint's Day when the calendars are at variance, as they not infrequently are.

The following Welsh calendars have been made use of in the present work:—

A. British Museum *Cotton MS.* *Vespasian A.* xiv, of the early thirteenth century. The calendar, which is at the beginning of the MS., is a very legible one. The festivals entered are not many, but they are those of the principal Welsh Saints.

B. British Museum *Additional MS.* 14,912, of the fourteenth century, prefixed to a copy of *Meddygon Myddfai*. Imperfect; begins with March, which is indistinct, and the months of November and December have been transposed. It contains the festivals of but few Welsh saints.

C. British Museum *Additional MS.* 22,720, of about the fifteenth century. The festivals of Welsh Saints are but few, and are in a somewhat later hand. The Welsh entries are in the earlier part of it.

D. *Peniarth MS.* 40, written *circa* 1469. It is printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans' *Catalogue of Welsh MSS.*, i, pp. 374-5. It contains but few festivals of Welsh Saints.

E. *Peniarth MS.* 191, of about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i, p. 1019. December is wanting. Sometimes the festivals are a day late.

F. A calendar in the *Grammar of John Edwards, Junior, of Chirkeslande*, now in the Plâs Llanstephan Library. It is dated 1481, and occurs at fo. 83 of the MS.

G. *Peniarth MS.* 27, part i, of the late fifteenth century, by Gutyn Owain. It is in part stained; January very illegible; a somewhat full calendar.

H. *Peniarth MS.* 186, of the late fifteenth century, also by Gutyn

On Welsh and Cornish Calendars 67

Owain. Printed in part in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i, p. 1013. It is considerably fuller than G.

I. *Mostyn MS.* 88, written 1488-9, also by Gutyn Owain. It is printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i, pp. 16-17. These three calendars are not mere copies of each other.

J. *Jesus College (Oxford) MS.* cxli=6, of the fifteenth century, printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, p. 36. Imperfect, only May-October. It is apparently one of Gutyn Owain's calendars.

K. *Jesus College MS.* xxii=7, of the late fifteenth century, printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, p. 38.

L. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 152-3, taken from "a MS. written *circa* 1500, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Davies, of Dolgelley." December is imperfect. This is one of the fullest of the Welsh calendars.

M. Sir John Prys, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, London, 1546, reprinted Bangor, 1902, under the editorship of Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., for the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales, from the unique copy in the Plâs Llanstephan Library. The work is to all intents and purposes a Prymer, and was probably the first book ever printed in the Welsh language. The calendar is often inaccurate, but contains a few rare entries.

N. *Peniarth MS.* 60, of the sixteenth century. This does not contain many entries.

O. *Peniarth MS.* 172, of the sixteenth century, printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i, pp. 967-8.

P. *Peniarth MS.* 192, of the sixteenth century. It begins with December 17, and is followed by January to September 15. The remainder is lost. The entries are not many.

Q. *Plâs Llanstephan MS.* 117, of the middle of the sixteenth century, printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, pp. 571-2.

R. *Plâs Llanstephan MS.* 181, written *circa* 1556, and printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, pp. 770-1. It is a complete calendar, but begins with May and ends with April. It belongs to North Wales.

S. A Demetian calendar, of which there are three MS. copies : (a) *Curtmawr MS.* 44, of the second half of the sixteenth century, and (b and c) *Panton MSS.* 10 and 66, of the eighteenth century ; and four printed copies : (a) *Y Greal*, 1806, pp. 287-8, (b) *Cambrian Register*, 1818, iii, pp. 219-21, (c) *Y Gwylledydd*, 1825, pp. 343-4, and (d) *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1854, pp. 30-2. This is a list, not a calendar proper, and the entries are not arranged in any order, except in the *Curtmawr MS.* as printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, p. 936. November, with its fifteen entries, is by much the fullest

month. July and September have no entries. Some of the entries are peculiar to this calendar; others supply details of the saints that are not found elsewhere. The following, among others, are noteworthy festivals: Rhystyd, Padarn and Teilo (movable), "Fidalis and Bidofydd" (April 26), Pumpsaint, Cynddilig, Gwryd Frawd (the three on All Saints' Day), "the Festival of the man who died on Trinity Sunday, preceded by a great vigil on the Saturday night, when it is customary to bathe for the cure of the tertian ague." The words "Gwyl y gwr a fu farw" (probably the correct reading) of the last quoted entry are converted in some of the copies into "S. Gwryfarn" and "Y Gwryfyn" (the Virgins). The list may be described as a Demetian calendar, as most of the saints commemorated belong to Dyfed, but more especially Cardiganshire. The first entry is "Gwyl Geitho," which probably gives a clue to its origin.

T. British Museum *Additional MS.* 14,882, written in 1591 by "William ap W^m." This is a perfect calendar.

U. *Peniarth MS.* 187, written in 1596, and printed, but only in part, in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i, p. 1014. This is a full calendar. Some of the entries are curious, e.g. for January, "The first day of this month the tops of the mountains appeared to Noah"; 7th, "Christ turned the water into wine"; 10th, "Nebuchadnezzar's war against Jerusalem."

V. *Hafod MS.* 8, of the late sixteenth century, printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, ii, p. 311. It is a meagre calendar.

W. MS. marginal entries in the calendar to a copy of the *Preces Privatae*, published in 1573, in the Library of S. Beuno's Jesuit College, near S. Asaph. The entries are in at least three different hands, of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and are by persons who lived in north, or rather north-east, Wales, for the majority of the festivals, as well as fairs, entered belong to that part.

X. *Peniarth MS.* 219, circa 1615, in the handwriting of John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy. It is printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *ibid.*, i. pp. 1043-5, where its festivals are entered with those of *Peniarth MSS.* 27, 186 and 187.

Y. The calendar prefixed to the *Llyfr Plygain*, or *Prymer*, of 1618 (fifth edition). This is a full calendar, but a leaf was missing for April and May in the copy seen. It frequently corroborates L in some of its isolated entries.

Z. The calendar prefixed to the *Llyfr Plygain*, or *Prymer*, of 1633, edited by Dr. John Davies.

ZA. The calendar prefixed to *Allwydd neu Agoriad Paradwys i'r Cymru*, a Roman manual published at Liège in 1670. The Welsh

saints are marked with an asterisk to distinguish them from saints of the Roman calendar.

ZB. Welsh almanacks of the latter part of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century give the festivals of Welsh and other saints more or less fully. The first Welsh almanack was that published for 1680, at Shrewsbury. We have consulted a great many from that for 1692 down. From about 1780 these festival entries became fewer and fewer, and have gradually disappeared almost entirely from the ordinary Welsh almanack.

ZC. Wm. Roberts (*Nefydd*), in his *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*, Carmarthen, 1852, gives the festivals of such Welsh saints as occur in the Welsh almanacks of the eighteenth century.

ZD. The calendar in Williams ab Ithel, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*, London, 1844, pp. 301-3. It is based upon the festivals given in Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, 1836, and is not always correct.

To these may be added the following, which, however, contain but few Celtic or Welsh entries :—

A Welsh Martyrology in Trinity College, Dublin, Library (MS. 50), of which Mr. H. Bradshaw speaks with enthusiasm in his *Collected Papers*, pp. 477-8. "It turns out to be one of the most precious monuments of the Welsh Church yet discovered." It was written by Ithael, and the initial letters were painted by Johannes, brother of Rhygyfarch (died 1097). It is actually the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, with entries of Celtic saints, Irish and British. The MS. was once in the possession of Bishop Bedell, who lent it to Archbishop Ussher, and it was owing to this happy accident that it was saved from the destruction which befell almost the whole of Bishop Bedell's library after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641.

We are indebted to Mr. R. Twigge for kindly examining this Martyrology for us. It unfortunately contains no other entries of Celtic saints than these : March 17, S. Patrick ; July 28, S. Samson ; September 17, "In Britannis Socris et Stephani" ; December 17, "Depos. Judichaili Confess."

A *Martyrology of British Saints*, "very peculiar," in the Bodleian Library, of the fourteenth century (*MSS. Gough Coll.*, 1833), imperfect ; from March 17 to May 23 is all that exists.

A Llanthony Abbey Calendar, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

We give below a calendar of the Welsh saints carefully compiled from the foregoing, noting in each case the particular calendars which contain the commemoration. They often vary, but the oldest calendars may be presumed to be the most reliable.

The ordinary festivals of the Western Church have not included.

JANUARY.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. S. Gwynhoedl, C. (zd). | 15. S. Ilar, B.C. (s). |
| S. Machraith, C. (zd). | S. Llawddog, or Lleuddaol, |
| S. Medwy, B.C. (zd). | (z). |
| S. Maelrys, or Maelerw, C. (zd). | S. Sawyl, C. (<i>Addit. MS.</i> 1. |
| S. Tyfrydog, C. (vza). | 16. S. Carannog, C. (A). |
| 2. S. Bodfan, C. (Y). | 17. |
| 3. S. Gwenog, V. (s, <i>Addit. MS.</i> | 18. |
| 14, 886). | 19. |
| S. Tewdrig, K.M. (za). | 20. |
| 4. | 21. |
| 5. | 22. |
| 6. S. Edeyrn, C. (zd). | 23. S. Elli, Ab.C. (LVXYZZa). |
| S. Merin, C. (zd). | 24. S. Catwg, or Cadoc, Ab.C. |
| S. Ylched (zd). | xyzza). |
| 7. S. Gwrddelw, C. (x). | 25. S. Dwynwen, V. (HIRXYza). |
| 8. | 26. |
| 9. | 27. S. Silin, B.C. (s). |
| 10. | 28. |
| 11. S. Llwhchaiarn, C. (ls). | 29. |
| 12. S. Llwhchaiarn, C. (ILMUWXYZ). | 30. S. Tybie, V.M. (zd). |
| 13. S. Cyndeyrn, or Kentigern, B.C. | 31. S. Aeddan Foeddog, or |
| (UWYZa). | B.C. (zd). |
| S. Elian, or Elien, C. (HILMRTUWY). | S. Ewryd, C. (FMX). |
| S. Erbin, K.C. (HIMQRTUWXY). | S. Melangell, or Monacell |
| S. Ilar, B.C. (DENVZ). | Abss. (HILTUX). |
| S. Saeran, C. (IKPRUMY). | S. Tyssul, B.C. (zd). |
| S. Tygwy, C. (z). | SS. Y Trisaint, or The Thr |
| 14. S. Ilar, B.C. (Y). | CC. (v). |

FEBRUARY.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. S. Ffraid, or Bridget, V. Abss. (in | 13. S. Dyfnog, C. (GIKMOPQRUV |
| most of the Calendars). | 14. S. Meugan, C. (t). |
| S. Ina, Knt. C. (s). | 15. S. Dochow, P.C. (A). |
| S. Seiriol, Ab.C. (HYZ). | 16. |
| 2. | 17. S. Ffnnan, B.C. (za). |
| 3. S. Dilwar, V. (q). | 18. |
| S. Tyssul, B.C. (s). | 19. |
| 4. S. Dilwar, V. (GHIOUXYZza). | 20. |
| S. Meirian, or Meirion, C. (F). | 21. S. Cowrda, C. (TX). |
| 5. | 22. |
| 6. S. Ciwa, V. (MX). | 23. |
| 7. S. Teilo, B.C. (MX). | 24. |
| 8. S. Cigwa, or Ciwa, V. (AY). | 25. |
| 9. S. Einion, K.C. (HQUWXYza). | 26. S. Tyfaelog, C. (MXYZZa). |
| S. Teilo, B.C. (ACDELNVYZa). | 27. |
| 10. S. Einion, K.C. (o). | 28. S. Llibio, C. (FHOQTUVYZza) |
| 11. | S. Maidoc, B.C. (A). |
| 12. | |

On Welsh and Cornish Calendars 71

MARCH.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. S. Dewi, or David, B.C. (all the Calendars). | 14. S. Cynog (za). |
| 2. S. Gistilian, B.C. (A). | 15. |
| S. Gwrthwl, or Mwthwl, C. (SYZ). | 16. |
| 3. S. Non, or Nonita, Wid. (ACELQS UVXYZ). | 17. S. Padrig, B.C. |
| 4. S. Gistilian, B.C. (C). | 18. |
| 5. S. Caron, B.C. (ELSYZ). | 19. S. Cynbryd, M. (GILMQVWXYZ). |
| S. Cieran, B.C. (AC). | 20. S. Cynbryd, M. (HR). |
| 6. | 21. |
| 7. S. Sannan, C. (LYZ). | 22. S. Elwad, C. (X). |
| 8. S. Deifer, or Dier, C. (za). | 23. |
| S. Rhian, B.C. (C). | 24. |
| S. Sannan, C. (V). | 25. |
| 9. | 26. |
| 10. | 27. |
| 11. | 28. Gwynllyw Filwr, or Gundleus, K.C. (V). |
| 12. | 29. S. Gwynllyw Filwr, K.C. (ALXza). |
| 13. S. Tudur, C. (YZ). | 30. |
| | 31. |

APRIL.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. | 16. S. Padarn, B.C. (BLSWZ). |
| 2. S. Tyrnog, C. (O). | 17. S. Padarn, B.C. (E). |
| 3. | 18. |
| 4. S. Tyrnog, C. (GHIPRUWXYZza). | 19. |
| 5. S. Derfel Gadarn, C. (BGHILMOPQ-RUVWXYZza). | 20. |
| 6. | 21. S. Beuno, Ab.C. (FGHIKLOQSUV-WXza). |
| 7. S. Brynach, or Byrnach, Ab.C. (ALSVza). | 22. S. Beuno, Ab.C. (ERZ). |
| SS. Llywelyn and Gwrnerth, CC. (GHILMOQRUXYZza). | S. Dyfnan, C. (ZZa). |
| 8. | 23. |
| 9. | 24. S. Dyfnan, C. (TX). |
| 10. | S. Meugan, C. (Q). |
| 11. | 25. |
| 12. | 26. SS. Fidalis (Vitalis on 28th) and Bidofydd, CC. (S). |
| 13. | 27. |
| 14. S. Caradog, Mk.C. (A). | 28. |
| 15. S. Padarn, B.C. (AZa). | 29. S. Sannan, C. (za). |
| | 30. S. Cynwyl, C. (zd). |

MAY.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. S. Asaph, B.C. (Lzza). | 17. S. Carannog, Ab.C. (u). |
| 2. S. Tyfriog, Ab.C. (s). | 18. S. Cathan, or Cathen, C. (zd). |
| 3. | 19. |
| 4. S. Melangell, V. (LUzza). | 20. S. Anno (LUXyz). |
| 5. | 21. S. Collen, C. (GHIJLQRTUWXY) |
| 6. | 22. S. Collen, C. (m). |
| 7. | 23. |
| 8. | 24. SS. Dyfan and Ffagan, CC. (z) |
| 9. S. Gofor, C. (L). | 25. |
| 10. S. Melyd, or Melydyn, C. (qw). | 26. |
| 11. S. Ylched (F). | 27. S. Garmon, B.C. (LUyz). |
| 12. SS. Mael and Sulien, CC. (m). | 28. S. Melangell, V. (EGHIJLMOP UXYZ). |
| 13. SS. Mael and Sulien, CC. (EHIJLQ-RSUWxzza). | 29. S. Garmon, B.C. (nx). |
| 14. | 30. Translation of S. Dyfrig, or Iricius, Ab.C. (za). |
| 15. S. Carannog, Ab.C. (sza). | 31. S. Erbin, C. (GHIJLMOPQTUXY) |
| 16. S. Carannog, Ab.C. (Lz). | 32. S. Tudglud, C. (GHLOQTUWXY) |

JUNE.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. S. Tegla, V. (GHIJLMOPQRUXYZ). | S. Ismael, B.C. (A). |
| 2. S. Cwyfen, C. (z). | 17. S. Mylling, B.C. (LRUXYZza). |
| 3. S. Cwyfen, C. (FGHIJLMOPQRUXYZza). | 18. |
| 4. S. Tegla, V. (K). | 19. |
| 5. S. Cwyfen, C. (K). | 20. |
| 6. S. Pedrog, or Petroc, Ab.C. (LUYZza). | 21. |
| 7. S. Tudno, C. (TWX). | 22. Decollation of S. Gwenfrew Winefred, V.M. (GHIJKMC TUWXYzza). |
| 8. SS. Y Trisaint, CC. (FX). | 23. |
| 9. | 24. |
| 10. | 25. |
| 11. | 26. Translation of S. Brynach, or nach, B.C. (A). |
| 12. S. Rhychwyn, C. (TWX). | 27. S. Twrog, C. (XYZ). |
| 13. S. Sannan, B.C. (GHIJLOUWXYZ). | 28. S. Tyrnog, C. (LUYZ). |
| 14. S. Dogfael, C. (zd). | 29. |
| 15. S. Ceneu, C. (KL). | 30. S. Eurgain, Matron (HTUXYZ) |
| 16. SS. Curig and Julitta, MM. (DS). | 31. S. Trunio, C. (H). |
| 17. S. Trillo, C. (GHIJKLPQRTUWXYZZa) | |
| 18. SS. Curig and Julitta (or Ilid, Eli-dan), MM. (in most of the Calendars). | |

JULY.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. S. Cewydd y Gwlaw, C. (L). | S. Garmon, B.C. (JQYZ). |
| 2. S. Cewydd, C. (B). Gwyl y Gwlaw | 15. S. Cewydd, C. (D). |
| (K). | 16. |
| S. Ondocens, B.C. (za). | 17. S. Cynllo, K.C. (JLUXYZza). |
| S. Peblig, C. (U). | S. Eliw (L). |
| 3. S. Peblig, C. (GHIJLMQTXVZZa). | 18. |
| 4. | 19. |
| 5. | 20. |
| 6. S. Erfyl, or Urfyl. V. (HILQXYZ). | 21. |
| 7. | 22. |
| 8. S. Dochelin, C. (A). | 23. |
| 9. | 24. |
| 10. | 25. S. Cyndeyrn, C. (zd). |
| 11. S. Cywair, C. (HILQUXYZ). | S. Mordeyrn, C. (zd). |
| 12. S. Doewan, C. (M). | 26. S. Peris, C. (zd). |
| 13. S. Dogfan, or Doewan, C. (GHIJL- | 27. |
| QRUXYZza). | 28. S. Samson, B.C. (F). |
| S. Dwynwen, V. (Q). | 29. S. Bleiddian, or Lupus, B.C. (zd). |
| S. Garmon, B.C. (M). | 30. S. Garmon, B.C. (P). |
| 14. S. Cynllo, K.C. (M). | 31. S. Garmon in Yale, or Germanus, |
| S. Elyw (M). | B.C. (FGHIJLMQRTUWXYZ). |

AUGUST.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. S. Eiliwedd or Almedha, V.M. (zd). | 16. |
| 2. | 17. |
| 3. | 18. |
| 4. S. Buan, C. (zd). | 19. S. Clintacus, or Clydog, K.M. |
| 5. S. Ceitho, Ab.C. (S). | (zazd). |
| 6. | 20. |
| 7. | 21. |
| 8. S. Cynllo, K.C. (v). | 22. S. Gwyddelan, C. (LUWXYZ). |
| S. Ffagan, C. (zd). | 23. S. Tydfil, V.M. (zd). |
| S. Hychan, C. (zd). | 24. |
| S. Illog in Hirnant, C. (HJLOQRT- | 25. |
| WXYZ). | 26. |
| 9. | 27. S. Decumanus, M. (zazd). |
| 10. | S. Meddwid, or Moddwid (LUXYZ). |
| 11. S. Llwni (S). | 28. |
| 12. | 29. |
| 13. S. Cybi, Ab.C. (Q). | 30. S. Decumanus, or n, M. |
| 14. | (A). |
| 15. | 31. |

SEPTEMBER.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. S. Silin (=Giles), Ab.C. (GHIJKLO-
QRTUXYZza). | 17. |
| 2. S. Sulien, C. (GHIJLMOPQTUXYZ). | 18. |
| 3. | 19. S. Gwenfrewi, V.M. (yz). |
| 4. S. Rhuddlad, V. (LOTYZza). | 20. S. Gwenfrewi, V.M. (L). |
| 5. | 21. |
| 6. S. Idloes, C. (LWYZza). | 22. |
| 7. S. Dunawd, Ab.C. (zd). | 23. Ordination of S. Padarn, B.C. (/ |
| 8. S. Cynfarch, C. (LYz). | S. Tegla, V. (jqw). |
| 9. S. Aelrhiw (zd). | 24. S. Mwrog, C. (GHIJKLMOQRUX). |
| Gwyl y Ddelw Fyw, "The Festi-
val of the Living Image" (H,
later hand, LRXYZ). | S. Tegla, V. (LYz). |
| 10. S. Eigion, B.C. (L). | 25. S. Caian, C. (zd). |
| 11. S. Deiniol or Daniel, B.C. (GHIJK-
LOPQRTUWXYZza). | S. Meugan, C. (GHILMORUXYZza) |
| 12. | S. Mwrog, C. (T). |
| 13. | S. Tyrnog, C. (q). |
| 14. S. Tegwyn, C. (zd). | 26. S. Elfan, C. (zd). |
| 15. | S. Meugan, C. (JT). |
| 16. | 27. S. Barruc, C. (A). |
| | 28. |
| | 29. |
| | 30. S. Nidan, C. (HLTUXYZ). |

OCTOBER.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. S. Garmon, B.C. (HIJKLMOQRTU-
XYZ) | 16. |
| S. Silin, Ab.C. (GHIJLMOQRTU-
XYZ). | 17. |
| 2. | 18. |
| 3. | 19. |
| 4. | 20. |
| 5. S. Cynhafal, C. (GHIJKLMOQRTUW-
XYZ). | 21. S. Llyr, V. (s). |
| 6. | S. Urw, or Wrw, V. (s). |
| 7. S. Keina, V. (za). | SS. Y Gweryddon, or Elev
Thousand VV. (GHIJLMQRTUXY |
| 8. S. Cain, or Ceinwen, V. (LMV). | 22. SS. Gwynog and Noethon (or Nw
thon), CC. (GHIJMQRTUX). |
| S. Cammarch, C. (Lz). | 23. SS. Gwynog and Noethan, C
(LYz). |
| 9. S. Cynog, M. (L) | SS. Y Gweryddon, VV. (o). |
| S. Tanwg, C. (YZ). | 24. S. Cadfarch, C. (YZza). |
| 10. S. Tanwg, C. (LQUX). | SS. Gwynog and Noethon, CC. (c |
| 11. | 25. |
| 12. | 26. |
| 13. | 27. |
| 14. S. Brothen, C. (q). | 28. |
| S. Tudur, C. (yz). | 29. S. Teuderius, C. (A). |
| 15. S. Brothen, C. (zd). | 30. S. Issui, M. (zd). |
| S. Tudur, C. (L). | 31. S. Dogfael, C. (HLMOQUVYZa). |

NOVEMBER.

1. S. Cadfan, Ab.C. (zd).
S. Callwen, V. (s).
S. Cedol, C. (zd).
S. Clydai, V. (s).
S. Clydwyn, or Cledwyn, K.C. (zd).
S. Cynddilig, C. (s).
S. Dingad, C. (zd).
S. Dona, C. (zd).
S. Gwenfyl, V. (s).
S. Gwenrhiw, V. (uxy).
S. Gwryd, Friar (s).
S. Gwynlleu, B.C. (s.).
S. Morhaiarn, C. (zd).
S. Peulan, C. (z).
S. Rhwydrys, C. (zd).
SS. Y Pumpsaint, CC. (s).
2. S. Aelhaiarn, C. (Az).
S. Peulan, C. (v).
3. S. Clydog, K.M. (ALMYZ).
S. Clydyn, or Clydau, C. (s).
S. Cristiolus, C. (FGHILMQWXYZ).
S. Gwenfaen, V. (L).
Translation of S. Gwenfrewi, or Winefred, V.M. (ORTUXYZza).
S. Gwyddfarch, H.C. (q).
4. S. Gwenfaen, V. (h).
S. Gwenfrewi, V.M. (q).
5. S. Cybi, Ab.C. (GIKLMQRSUWXYZZa).
S. Gwenfaen, V. (f).
6. S. Cybi, Ab.C. (hs).
S. Edwen, V. (ls).
S. Illtyd, Ab.C. (Aza).
7. S. Cybi, Ab.C. (A).
S. Cyngar, Ab.C. (GHILMOQTUWXYZ).
8. S. Cynfarwy, C. (LYZ).
S. Tyssilio, Ab.C. (GHILMOQTUWXYZZa).
9. S. Pabo Post Prydain, C. (LYZZa).
S. Tyssilio, Ab.C. (s).
10. S. Cynfarwy, C. (u).
S. Elaeth, K.C. (FTU).
11. S. Cynfarwy, C. (x).
S. Edern, or Edeyrn, C. (FLUYZ).
S. Elaeth, K.C. (x).
S. Rhediw, C. (zd).
12. S. Cadwaladr, K.C. (FGHIKLMQGRUXYZ).
S. Meilig, C. (s).
S. Meilir, C. (m).
S. Padarn, B.C. (LUXYZ).
13. S. Gredifael, C. (HLUXYZa).
14. S. Dubricius, or Dyfrig, Ab.C. (Ax).
S. Gredifael, C. (tz).
S. Mechyll, C. (k).
S. Meilig, C. (LYZ).
15. S. Cynfab, C. (zd).
S. Machudd, *i.e.* Machutus, or Malo, B.C. (LYZZa).
S. Mechell, or Mechyll, C. (FLOYZ).
S. Meugan, C. (s).
16. S. Afan, B.C. (szd).
17. S. Afan, B.C. (LYZ).
18. S. Meugan, C. (r).
19. S. Llwydian, C. (zd).
20. S. Celynin, C. (zd).
21. S. Digain, C. (GILOQUWYZZa).
22. S. Deiniolen, C. (LTUXYZza).
S. Gredifael, C. (q).
S. Polin, B.C. (szd).
23. S. Deiniolen, C. (zd).
- 24.
25. S. Tauanauc, or Tyfanog, C. (A).
26. S. Teilo, B.C. (zd).
27. S. Gallgo, C. (FGHILMOQTUXYZza).
- 28.
29. S. Baruc, H.C. (za).
S. Sadwrn, C. (HLQSUYZZa).
- 30.

DECEMBER.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. S. Grwst, C. (KLQRUXYZza). | 14. |
| S. Llechid, V. (FLYZ). | 15. |
| 2. | 16. |
| 3. | 17. S. Tydecho, C. (HIMOPQRUXY) |
| 4. | 18. S. Tegfedd, V. (x). |
| 5. S. Cowrda, or Cawrdaf, K.C. | 19. |
| (HLOQUYZ). | 20. |
| S. Gwrda (za). | 21. |
| S. Justinian, or Stinan, H.M. (A). | 22. |
| 6. | 23. |
| 7. | 24. |
| 8. S. Cynidr, B.C. (AMYz). | 25. |
| 9. | 26. S. Maethlu, C. (zd). |
| 10. S. Deiniol, B.C. (zd). | S. Tathan, or Tatheus, |
| 11. S. Cian, C. (zd). | (Aza). |
| S. Ffinan, B.C. (v). | 27. |
| S. Peris, C. (FHTUWXYZZa). | 28. |
| Dydd llas Llywelyn, "The day on | 29. |
| which Llywelyn was slain" (κ). | 30. |
| 12. S. Fflewyn, C. (FYza). | 31. S. Gwynin, C. (zd). |
| Llywelyn (z). | S. Maelog, C. (FS). |
| 13. S. Ffinan, B.C. (BYz). | |
| SS. Gwynan (-en) and Gwynws, | |
| CC. (szd). | |

II. THE CORNISH CALENDAR

No Celtic Calendars for the West of England have been served, and the Exeter Calendars almost wholly ignore the saints whose names are not found in the Roman Martyrology.

1. In 1478, however, William of Worcester made a journey thro Devon and Cornwall, and examined the Calendars of Tavistock, Launceston, Bodmin, and S. Michael's Mount. From these he took extracts. His *Itinerary* has been preserved in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge. William wrote an execrable hand, and scribbled rather than wrote in his notebook, which he never transcribed. Nasmith published the *Itinerary* in 1778, having deciphered the scribbles with great patience, and, on the whole, correctly. But he made many mistakes, and he made occasional slips. Thus, in transcribing the Calendar of Bodmin, he omitted from May 28 to July 31. He saw under May 28 the entry "S. Germanus Episc. Conf.," and under the same entry under July 31, the first being the entry of Germanus of Paris, and the latter that of Germanus of Auxerre. By an oversight he did not transcribe all that intervened. Through the courtesy of the Librarian we have been able to collate Nasmith's edition with the original text.

2. A Calendar of Exeter Cathedral of the twelfth century

Harl. 863). In this there are a few Celtic saints, as S. David, S. Cieran, S. Petrock, S. Nectan, S. Sidwell, S. Rumon; but some are later additions. It is printed by Hampson, i, p. 449.

3. The Calendar of the Leofric Missal. This belonged originally to Glastonbury, but to Glastonbury after it had ceased to be the Rome of the British and Irish Churches, and had been refounded by the West Saxon King Ina, in 708, and given a Romano-Saxon complexion. The Leofric Missal was in use in the Church of Exeter from 1050 to 1072. The MS. is in the Cathedral Library; but it has been carefully and accurately published, under the editorship of the Rev. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883. The Calendar is sadly disappointing, as into it few local and Celtic saints were admitted. Gildas, Patrick, Samson, Aedan—these are about all.

4. A Calendar in the Grandisson Psalter, *circ.* 1337 (*Add. MS.* 21.926). This is the same as the Calendar to the Ordinale of Bishop Grandisson, and was in use in the Church of Exeter till 1505, when his Ordinale was superseded by that of Sarum. This Calendar has been edited and published by the Rev. H. E. Reynolds, with the Ordinale, Exeter, 1882.

5. In the Cathedral Library, Exeter, is a thirteenth-century Calendar, but on examination it proves to have belonged to the Church of Worcester. It gives S. Petrock and S. Gudwal, but very few other saints of the Celtic Church.

6. A Martyrology for the Church of Exeter, drawn up by Bishop Grandisson in 1337; it is now in the Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge. It includes some more Celtic names, but not many.

7. A Legendarium for the Church of Exeter was compiled also by Grandisson in 1366. This is preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, Exeter. It is a bitterly disappointing book. Grandisson wrote in 1330 requiring all the clergy of parishes in Cornwall to send three transcripts of the legends of the patron saints of their churches to Exeter for preservation, as many of these legends had been lost by accident or carelessness. One might have expected that he would have made use of the material forwarded to him. On the contrary, he has employed none, with the exception of that concerning S. Samson and S. Melor. Grandisson was a thoroughly Roman-minded prelate, the friend of John XXII at Avignon, who had appointed him to the see of Exeter in contravention of canonical rule, without consulting the chapter. The Bishop drew the material for his Legendarium, and the names of the saints he was pleased to commemorate, almost exclusively from the Roman Martyrology, and from

approved Latin lectionaries. A copy of this Martyrology is in Archbishop Parker's Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

8. A Calendar in the Book of Hours, of Pilton, near Barnstaple, drawn up in 1521 by Thomas Oldeston, who was prior from 1472. It is in the Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson Liturg. MSS.* (g. 12).

9. The Rev. R. Stanton, in his *Menology of England and Wales*, Supplement, 1892, refers to a Martyrology written between 1220 and 1224, in the British Museum, *MSS. Reg. 2 A. xiii*, as "probably for the South West of England." However, it proves when examined to have been compiled for the church of Canterbury.

10. Nicolas Roscarrock of Roscarrock, in the parish of Endelion, in Cornwall, a friend of Camden, the antiquary, composed a MS. Lives of the Saints of Britain and Ireland, according to Mr. Horstman's opinion, between the years 1608-1617.¹ He enters a number of Cornish saints, and gives the days on which they were locally commemorated, as well as some legends concerning them. The volume is unhappily defective; the MS. from folio 402 to the end has had something like eighty leaves torn out. To the "Lives" is prefixed a Calendar. Roscarrock relied mainly on Whytford and Demster for his entries, but he was further assisted by a Welsh priest, Edward Powell, for his Welsh entries. The Calendar is complete. So are the Lives as far as Simon Sudbury, which is begun, but the rest torn away. For matter Roscarrock had recourse to Capgrave and to Surius, and easily accessible works, and the bulk of his MS. is therefore of little value. But its worth comes in when he deals with the Cornish and the Welsh saints. He gives the days of these in the body of his work, though not always in the Calendar. The MS. was in the Brent-Eley Collection, having been in the hands of Lord William Howard, in whose house Roscarrock died. It has been acquired by the University Library, Cambridge, and is numbered Addit. MS. 3,041.

We have available for consultation a large number of English Calendars; those in MS. are too numerous to be here recorded, and for the most part serve our purpose but rarely. The principal MSS. and such as are published and accessible are these:—

1. The Sarum Missal. *Missale in usum . . . ecclesiæ Sarum.* Ed. F. H. Dickenson, Burntisland, 1861-83. An English translation, *The Sarum Missal*, published by the English Church Printing Co., London, 1868.

2. The Hereford Missal, printed in 1502; reprinted by W. G. Henderson, Leeds, 1874.

3. The York Missal, published by the Surtees Society, Durham, 1875.

¹ Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, ed. C. Horstman, Oxford, 1901, i. p. x.

4. The Missal of Robert de Jumièges, Bishop of London, 1044-50, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051. Edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by H. A. Wilson, London, 1896.

5. The Peterborough Calendar, 1361-90, in the *Archæologia*, vol. li (1888).

6. The Lincoln Calendar, before 1500, in the *Archæologia*, vol. li (1888).

7. *Missale ad usum ecclesiæ West Monasteriensis*. Edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, Lond. 1891-7.

8. *Liber Vitæ of Newminster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*. Edited by W. de Gray Birch, for the Hampshire Record Society, 1892. A Hyde Calendar of the thirteenth century, very full, is in the Bodleian Library, MSS. Gough.

9. Hampson, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, Lond. 1841. This contains : (a) a Metrical Calendar, of which three copies exist in the British Museum ; (b) The Exeter Calendar noted above (MSS. Harl. 863), with additions in italics from another copy (MSS. Harl. 1,804) ; (c) A Calendar of 1031 (MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A. xviii) ; (d) A Calendar (MSS. Cotton, Titus, D. xxvii) ; (e) An English Calendar in Norman-French, that belonged to Ludlow Church (MSS. Harl. 273).

10. A Sherborne Calendar, published for the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, 1896, by Dr. J. Wickham Legg. The original MS. is in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. It was written between 1396 and 1407.

11. The Oxford Calendar has been published by W. Anstey, in the Rolls Series. *Munimenta Academica*, 1868.

12. The Canterbury Cathedral Calendar, circ. 1050 (MSS. Arundell, 155) ; another 1220-46 (MSS. Cotton, Tiberius, B. iii) ; another early in the fourteenth century (MSS. Add. 6,160).

13. A Martyrology, Roman with addition of English saints, of the fourteenth century, in the Bodleian (MSS. Gough, liturg. 4).

14. A Gloucester Calendar, fifteenth century (MSS. Add. 30,506) ; another, thirteenth century, in the Bodleian (MSS. Rawlinson, Litt. f. 1) ; another in Jesus College, Oxford, also of the thirteenth century (MS. cx).

15. The Bath Abbey Calendar, fourteenth century (MSS. Add. 10,628).

16. A Worcester Calendar, fifteenth century (MSS. Harl. 7,398).

17. Bishop Grandisson's Psalter (MSS. Add. 21,926), drawn up for use in the Province of York. Grandisson was Canon of York 1306-27. It differs from the Calendar in the Exeter Ordinale.

18. The Martyrology of Christ Church, Canterbury, of which two

copies exist. The earlier, of the thirteenth century, is in the B Museum (*MSS. Arundell*, 68); the other, of the sixteenth century, is in the library of Lambeth Palace (*MSS. Lambeth*, 20).

19. A Martyrology that belonged to the Bridgetine Monastery of Syon, in Middlesex (*MSS. Addit.* 22,285).

20. A Norwich Martyrology of the fifteenth century (*MSS. C. Julius*, B. vii).

21. *Martyrologium Anglicanum* in Martene, *Ampl. Coll.* vi, 652-8.

22. A Martyrology contained in a Sarum Breviary of the fourteenth century (*MSS. Harl.* 2,785) is imperfect. It runs from November to June 17.

23. *Bedæ Venerabilis Libellus Annalis sive Kalendarium Anglicanum* is really a Martyrology of the Abbey of S. Maximin at Trier. Martene, *Ampl. Coll.* vi, pp. 637-49.

24. A Calendar of English, Scottish and Irish saints. A MS. of the twelfth century in the Bodleian Library (*Douce Coll.* 50). It is perfect. It begins with March and ends with October.

The list might be extended to a great length, but only by including Calendars of no particular value. The English Calendars contain hardly any Celtic names, except of some few favourites as Patrick, David, Samson and Brigid.

In addition to the Calendars and Martyrologies above given, the following works have been consulted :—

1. John of Tynemouth, *Sanctilogium*, 1350, in *MS. Cotton*, Tiberius E. i. This has been partly destroyed and all grievously injured by fire, but the lives were used by Capgrave, and have been printed by the Bollandists from a transcript, which was supplied to them by the Monastery of Roseavallis. John of Tynemouth had seen a MS. of Lives of Welsh Saints, now in the British Museum, *MS. Cotton*, Vesp. A. xiv, and he condensed the lives therein.

2. Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, London, 1516; his MS. is in the British Museum (*MS. Cotton*, Otho, D. ix). It has suffered from fire, and is not completely legible. Capgrave merely printed from John of Tynemouth, with some additions. A new and excellent edition by Horstman, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1901.

3. Whytford's *Martyrologe*, 1526; an English rendering of the Bridgetine Martyrology of Sion House, but with additions. Printed for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893.

4. Wilson's *Martyrology*, 1st ed. 1608; 2nd ed. 1640.

Wilson says :—

I have thought it most convenient for the more full accomplishment and perfecting of a Martyrologie, that where any day falleth out to be altogether voyd : there to place one or more of the foresaid ancient saintes, whose publicke celebrity hath not byn hitherto kept; and thereof to make a commemoration only, noting the same with the syne of an Asteriske or Starre in the Margent.

5. Bishop Challoner published his *Memorial of British Piety* in 1761. Challoner took on himself to find fault with Wilson's book, but Wilson had the decency to note arbitrary attribution of saints to days, whereas Challoner made no such distinction, so that his book is misleading and worse than useless, for he has led others astray. His book is simply crowded with blunders. He says :—

As to the appointing our British Saints their respective Days throughout the year, where our Calendars or other Monuments gave us Light, we have generally endeavoured to follow it : but where we could not find the Days on which they were formerly honoured, we have commemorated them on such other Days, as otherwise might have been vacant : *thus we have not let so much as one Day in the year pass without commemorating one or more Saints.*

The consequence is that we are unable to trust any single entry, and on looking closely into this wretched compilation, we find that Challoner has dealt most arbitrarily with the saints, dotting them about just where he willed, and dissociating them from their well-established festivals. His sole principle was that of filling gaps.

S. Winefred's Day is June 22, but as he required that day for S. Alban, he shifted her to June 24. S. Almedha's Day is August 1, but Challoner transferred her to August 2. On October 23 he enters : " At Tavistock, in Devonshire, the Commemoration of S. Rumon, Bishop."

Now, we know from William of Worcester that in the Tavistock Calendar the days observed for S. Rumon were January 5, August 28, and August 30. This latter day is also given in the Exeter Martyrology ; but October 23 never was held as a day of commemoration of S. Rumon, at Tavistock or anywhere else.

His attribution of S. Jutwara to December 23 is wanton in its recklessness, for S. Jutwara was commemorated at Sherborne and elsewhere on July 13. He had but to look in Whytford to learn that, and he misled Williams ab Ithel, who in his Welsh Calendar, relying on Challoner, noted Jutwara on December 23. Challoner in this, however, follows Wilson.

His Irish entries are almost invariably wrong. S. Nesson is inserted on June 24, whereas he should have stood on July 24. S. Erc

[illegible]

of Slane he sets down on April 16, whereas every Irish Martyrology has him on November 2.

On October 16 he notes S. Cyra, Virgin of Muskerry, whereas Ciara or Cera of that day was the mother of a family by her good husband Dubh.

Nor are his Welsh entries any better. S. Cyngar, or Docwin, he inserts on November 5, in place of November 7. S. Paulinus of Ty Gwyn he gives as "a man of God of the Isle of Wight," converting the Candida Casa into the chalk island! and he makes him there educate S. David. He gives as his day December 31, in place of December 23. Deiniol of Bangor he puts down on November 23, whereas the Welsh Calendars give September 11. Justinian the Hermit-martyr, near S. David's, he plants on August 23, in place of his proper day, December 5.

The consequence is that we can never trust Challoner. It is better to leave a saint without a day of commemoration rather than follow this reckless martyrologist, of whom one can only predicate this, that he is generally wrong.

6. *A Roman and Church Calendar*, drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Lingard, but without bearing his name. It was printed by C. P. Cooper in his *Account of the Most Important Records*, London, 1832, vol. ii, p. 483, and was also used by Sir Harris Nicolas, first of all in his *Notitia Historica*, London, 1824, and again in his *Chronology of History*, London, 1838; again by Simms (R.) in his *Genealogist's Manual*, London, 1861. In all these, misprints, such as on February 9, *Telcan* for *Teleau*, i.e. S. Teilo, Bishop of Llandaff, are servilely repeated.

The original work was executed by Dr. Lingard as well as he was able from the scanty materials then available. These were, as he says, the printed York and Salisbury Missals, that of S. Paul's, London (MSS. Harl. 2,787), the above-mentioned English Martyrologies of Wilson and Capgrave.

7. Sir Harris Nicolas not only reprinted Dr. Lingard's *Roman and Church Calendar*, but he added a valuable "Alphabetical List of Saints" in his *Chronology of History*, one of Dr. Lardner's series, 1838. He added many names of Welsh and English saints, having employed for the purpose eleven MS. Calendars in the Harleian Collection, two in the Cottonian, and two in the Arundell Collection of MSS.

It is much to be regretted that he did not specify from which MSS. he drew his information for each entry. Although he doubtless took great pains to be correct, yet in some instances he allowed himself to be misled by Lingard, who in turn was misled by Wilson.

An instance of the manner in which a false attribution perpetuates

itself is that of S. Indract. The Salisbury, Norwich, and Aletemps Calendars give as his day May 8. Now Wilson inserted him on February 5, but put an asterisk to the name to indicate that he had no authority for so doing. Challoner followed suit. So did the Bollandist Fathers in 1648. Lingard followed again, and so Indract has got fairly established on February 5, a day on which he was commemorated in no church in England in ancient times.

Wilson gives S. Guier on April 4, but honestly intimates that this insertion was purely arbitrary. Challoner accepted this, and so did the Bollandists in 1665. Lingard could do no other, and of course has been followed. Even the Truro Church Calendar, 1900, gives Guier on April 4.

Wilson, with an asterisk, enters S. Merwyna, Virgin, on May 13. This did not suit Challoner, who wanted the day for S. Cadoc or Cathmail, who had not the smallest claim to it, so he shifted S. Merwyna to March 30. Lingard followed Wilson as the more trusty of the two, and Sir Harris Nicolas gives May 13 as S. Merwyna's Day. But it must be clearly understood that at Rumsey Abbey, where her body reposed, neither on May 13 nor on March 30 was any commemoration of her made.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Martyrologies and Calendars since Wilson compiled his need a complete overhauling.

8. The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists were begun in 1643, and the work is not yet complete. The month of January was composed of 2 vols. at first—Antwerp, 1643; February, 3 vols., 1648; March, 3 vols., 1668; April, 3 vols., 1675; May, 8 vols., 1680-8; June, 7 vols., 1695-1717; July, 7 vols., 1719-31; August, 6 vols., 1733-43; September, 8 vols., 1746-62; October, 13 vols., 1765-70, 1780-6, 1794, 1845, 1853, 1858, 1861, 1864, 1867, 1883; November, t. 1, 1887, t. 2, pt. i, 1894.

There has been a new edition, ed. by Carnandet, Paris, 16 vols. and incomplete. This edition is not a faithful reproduction; there are additions and excisions.

The great merit of this collection is that the Bollandist Fathers give their authorities for the attribution of the several saints to their particular days. But they have trusted too far to Wilson, who had not the means at his disposal to give to his Martyrology that exactness which he doubtless would have desired, and who was too free in putting down by guesswork obscure local saints on days upon which they never had received a cult.

9. *Analecta Bollandiana*. A supplement to the *Acta Sanctorum*,

and edited by the Bollandist Fathers. Some thirteen volumes have appeared, and the issue is still in progress.

It contains : (1) hitherto unedited documents on the lives of the saints ; (2) ancient Martyrologies reprinted ; (3) lives of saints pre-termitted in the earlier volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* ; (4) newly discovered texts, better than those already printed ; (5) variants to those published ; (6) critical notes ; (7) descriptive catalogues of MS. collections of hagiographa ; (8) liturgical memorials ; (9) review of hagiographical works annually issuing from the press.

10. Butler (Alban). *The Lives of Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints*, 1745 and 1789 ; repeatedly reprinted.

This collection was written for edification, and the author was devoid of the critical faculty. He touched up and altered the lives as suited his purpose, which was to furnish wholesome reading. He accordingly cut out everything of which he disapproved ; and being entirely destitute of any sense of poetry, he eliminated precisely those incidents in the lives of the heroes of Christianity that give them beauty and arrest the attention. He took no trouble to make sure that he had set down his biographical notices on the days upon which local saints received veneration.

11. "*Britannia Sacra*, or the Lives of the Most Celebrated British, English, Scottish, and Irish Saints, who have flourished in these Islands ; Faithfully collected from their Acts and other Records of British History," London, 1745.

When it is known that this work is by Challoner, we know also how to estimate it.

12. *The Menology of England and Wales*, by Richard Stanton, of the Oratory, London, Burns and Oates, 1887, with a Supplement, 1892. This is a valuable compilation, if not very critical.

It contains an incomplete list of MS. Calendars in the British Museum and elsewhere.

Father Stanton says : " No fewer than 108 Calendars have been examined for the purpose of ascertaining, as nearly as possible, the names of those servants of God who received from our ancestors the public honours of Sanctity."

We do not print a Calendar of Cornish Saints, but refer to the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1900, pp. 341-389, where there is one fairly complete.

The principal Irish Calendars and Martyrologies are these :—

1. The Féilire of Oengus. This is a Metrical Calendar, attributed to Oengus the Culdee, a contemporary of Aed Ordnaíthe, king of Ireland, 793-817 : but it is certainly considerably later, as it includes

a commemoration of the supposed author. It includes also S. Sinchell, who died in 982. It has a gloss by the O'Clerys, and has been published by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1871, edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes.

2. The Martyrology of Tallagh, attributed to S. Maelruan, who died in 788. He may have made the original calendar, but it has received additions, for it contains the name of Coirpre, abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died about 899. It is imperfect, lacking November, and the first sixteen days of December. It has been published, not very correctly, and uncritically, by Dr. Kelly, the editor; Dublin, 1857.

3. The Martyrology of Donegal, so called because drawn up by the celebrated Irish scholar and antiquary, Michael O'Clery, one of the Four Masters, 1620. He laid under contribution the Cashel Calendar, which was compiled in 1030, but which is now lost. It has been edited by Dr. James Todd; Dublin, 1864.

4. The Drummond Calendar of the twelfth century. This is an Irish Calendar rather than Scottish. It has been published by Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, in his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, Edinburgh, 1872. This calendar is of the twelfth century.

5. The Book of Obits, of Dublin Cathedral, edited by Crosthwaite and Todd; Dublin, 1843.

6. The Martyrology of Gorman, abbot of Cnocnan-Apostol; drawn up between 1166 and 1174. It has been edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes, for the Henry Bradshaw Society; London, 1895.

7. *Sanctorum quorundam Vitæ et Passiones, una cum eorum Diebus Festis*, a MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (vi, B. 1, 16), in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Some folios are missing.

8. *Officia Dominicalia totius anni, cum Kalendario; Psalterium Latinum, cum Lectionibus e vitis Sanctorum quorundam precipue Hiberniorum*. MS. written in 1489 (xii, B. 3, 10), in the same library.

9. Calendar of Down, of the fifteenth century. Bodleian Library, Oxford (*MSS. Canonici*, Liturg., 215).

10. *Catalogus præcipuorum Sanctorum Ibernix*, by Henry FitzSimon, S.J., in the sixteenth century, Library of Trinity College, Dublin (*MSS.* xii, B. 3, 10).

11. John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ*, Louvain, 1645. This is carried to the end of March only.

In 1647 he issued his *Triadis Thaumaturgæ, sive Divorum Patricii, Columbæ et Brigidæ . . . Acta*. Unhappily he never completed his great *Acta Sanctorum* of Ireland, as he died at Louvain in 1648.

Most of his MSS., materials laboriously collected, were dispersed when the French revolutionary soldiers swept over the Netherlands.

12. *Lives of the Irish Saints*, by John Canon O'Hanlon, *n.d.*, volume for September was issued 1900. The failure of the health of the aged author has caused the work to remain incomplete and to break off at October 21. A laborious compilation, and the author is careful to give references, but it is woefully uncritical.

Scottish Calendars may be consulted, but they render assistance only to a limited degree.

Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, has published the most important *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*; Edinburgh, 1872. This contains eleven, among these the Drummond Calendar, which is Irish.

Since then the Foulis Breviary of the fifteenth century has been published; Longmans, London, 1902.

Brittany Calendars are of far greater importance. We refer for these to the monograph on the subject: *Bréviaires et Missels des Églises et Abbayes Bretonnes de France antérieurs au xvii^e siècle*, par l'Abbé F. Duine. Rennes: Plihon et Hommay, 1906.

IV. THE GENEALOGIES OF THE WELSH SAINTS

THE principal sources and authorities, in MS. and in print, for the genealogies of the Welsh saints are the following:—

1. The Bonedd in Peniarth MS. 16, of the early thirteenth century; imperfect at the end.

2. The Bonedd in Peniarth MS. 45, of the late thirteenth century.

These two early Bonedds have never been published.

3. The Bonedd in Peniarth MS. 12, in the fragment of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, of the first half of the fourteenth century; printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, pp. 133-4.

4. The Bonedd in Hafod MS. 16, circa 1400, now in the Cardiff Free Library; a little imperfect towards the end. It is printed, with but few inaccuracies, in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, pp. 415-6, and the missing entries supplied from a Mawddwy MS. It is also printed, but very inaccurately, in the *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 265-8, from the copy in Harleian MS. 4181, of the early eighteenth century.

The Genealogies of the Welsh Saints 87

5. The Bonedd in Cardiff Free Library MS. 25, a transcript made by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy in 1640 from a MS. (now lost) supposed by him to have been of about the eleventh century. A copy, with few variations, of No. 1; also imperfect at the end.

6. The Bonedd in Plâs Llanstephan MS. 28, written in 1455-6.

7. The Bonedd in Peniarth MS. 27, part ii, of the late fifteenth century.

8. The Achau printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 100-146, from three Glâmorgan MSS. :—

(a) pp. 100-14, from a Coychurch MS. transcribed or compiled about 1670.

(b) pp. 115-34, from a Llansannor MS. (previously Coychurch), of about the same date apparently.

(c) pp. 135-46, from a Cardiff MS., of which the date is not given, but probably the seventeenth century.

A good deal of interesting information, of later date it would appear than the originals, has been worked into these Achau. Mistakes of fact and spelling are frequent.

There is a transcript of pp. 100-134 by Sir S. R. Meyrick, made in 1808, in the Aberystwyth University College Library.

9. The so-called Bonedd y Saint in *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417-31, in reality an alphabetical compilation made by Lewis Morris in 1760 from a number of MS. Bonedds. A copy of it, with additions in Gwallter Mechain's hand, at Aberystwyth.

10. The Achau, atrociously printed, in *Cambro-British SS.*, pp. 269-71, from Harleian MS. 4181 (early eighteenth century).

Sixteenth century MS. copies of Saintly Pedigrees are very numerous.

As supplementing the foregoing must be mentioned the following :—

1. The Old-Welsh Pedigrees in Harleian MS. 3859, *circa* 1100, printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, pp. 169-83.

These, as well as some of the other genealogies enumerated here, have been very carefully indexed by Mr. Anscombe in the *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie* for 1898, 1900 and 1903.

2. The Cognatio de Brychan in

(a) Cott. Vesp. A. xiv, of the early thirteenth century; and

(b) Cott. Dom. i, *circa* 1650.

3. Progenies Keredic Regis de Keredigan in Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.

2 (a), (b) and 3 have been very carefully reproduced by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix (1906).

4. The Brychan catalogue and pedigrees in Jesus College (Oxford) MS. xx=3, of the early fifteenth century; printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, pp. 83-90.

5. Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd (the Descent of the Men of the North) in Peniarth MS. 45 ; printed in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, p. 454.

6. The Pedigrees in Mostyn MS. 117, of the end of the thirteenth century, appended to the copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* ; printed in Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans' *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 63.

To these authorities may be added Nicolas Roscarrock, fifth son of Richard Roscarrock in S. Endellion in Cornwall, who compiled a *Lives of English Saints* (including Welsh) between 1610 and 1625, and in the Welsh Saints his authority was a Welsh priest, Edward Powell, who placed his MS. collection at his disposal, and in these MSS. were pedigrees of Welsh Saints. Roscarrock's MS. is unhappily mutilated at the end, many pages having been torn out to cover jam-pots. The volume was in the Brent Eley Library, but on the dispersion of that collection, it was acquired for the University Library, Cambridge. Roscarrock studied at Exeter College, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree in 1568. Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 229, tells us of "his industrious delight in matters of History and Antiquity." He died in 1633 or 1634, at an advanced age.

TABLE I.

RACE OF EUDAF.

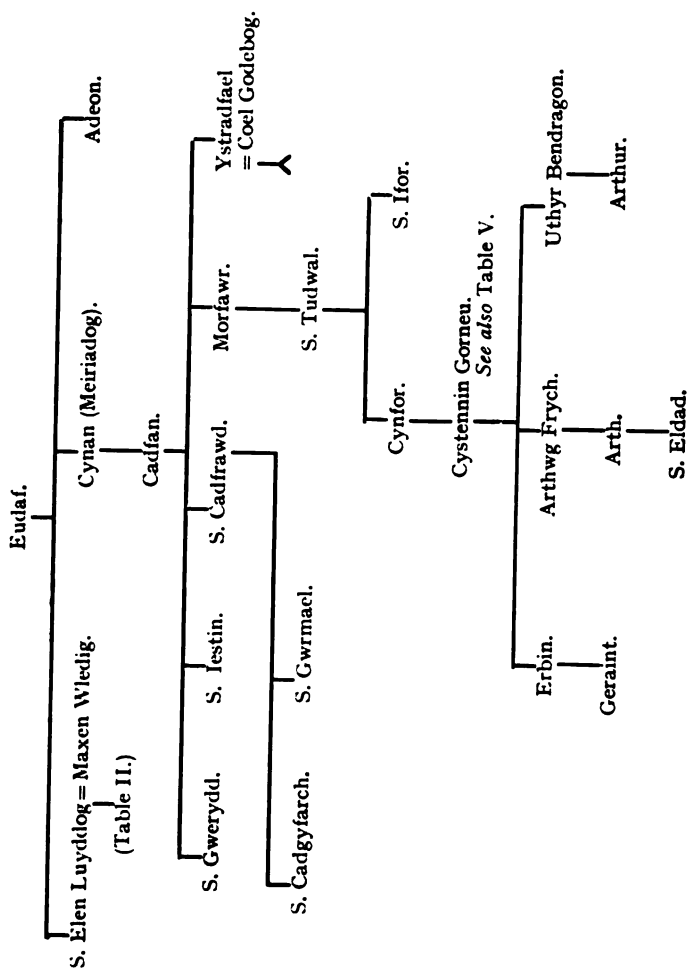
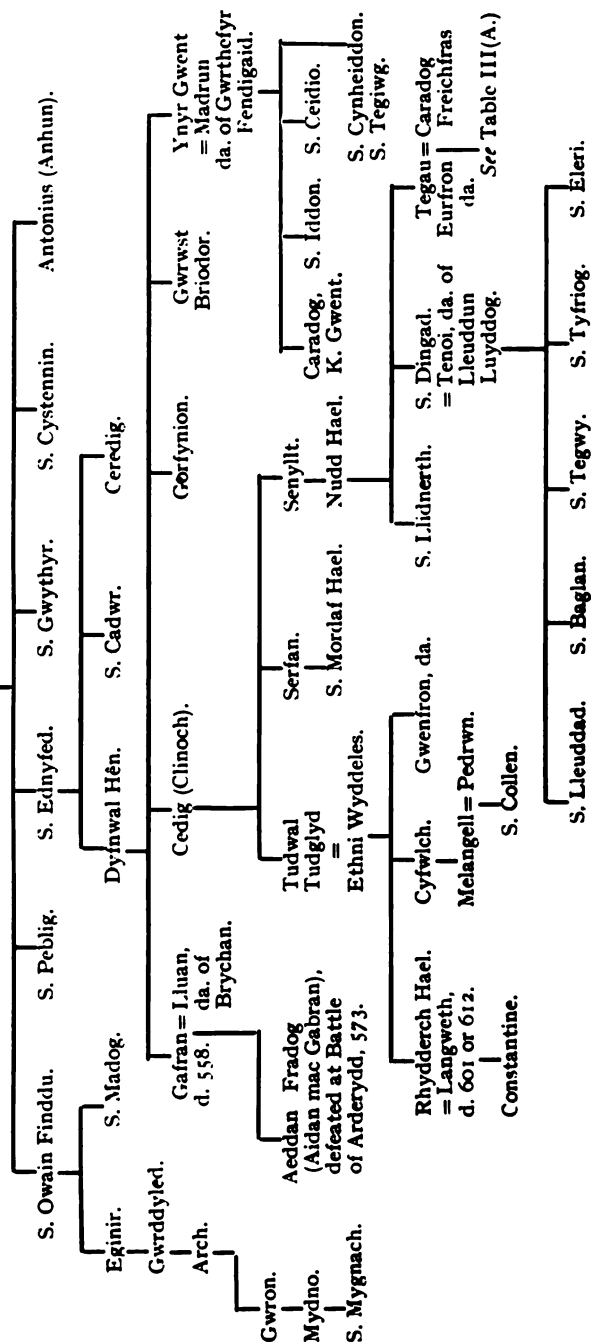


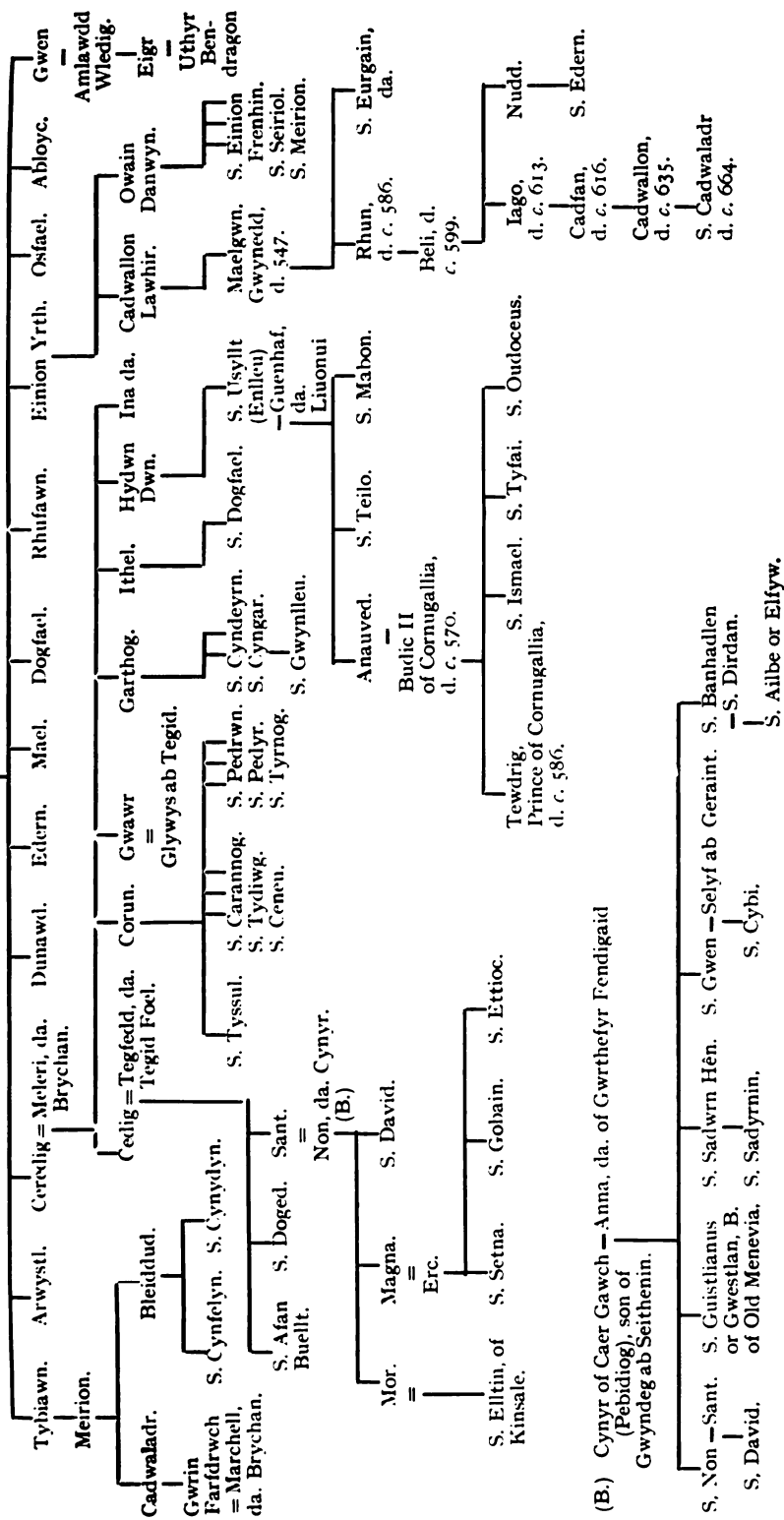
TABLE II.

DESCENDANTS OF MAXEN WLEDIG.

Maxen Wledig = S. Elen Luyddog
(Magnus Clemens
Maximus), emperor
383-388.



Cunedda Wledig.



(B.) Cynyr of Caer Gawch - Anna, da. of Gwrthefyr Fendigaidd (Pebidog), son of Gwyndeg ab Seithenin.

TABLE VII.

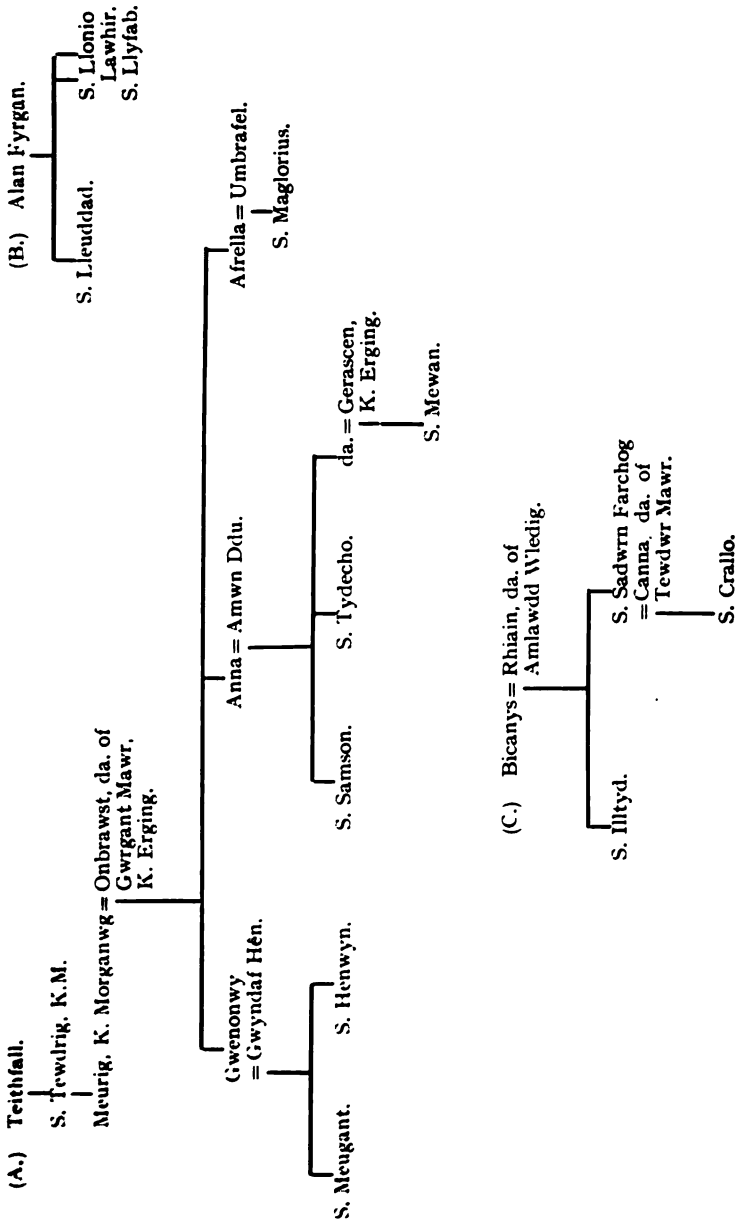
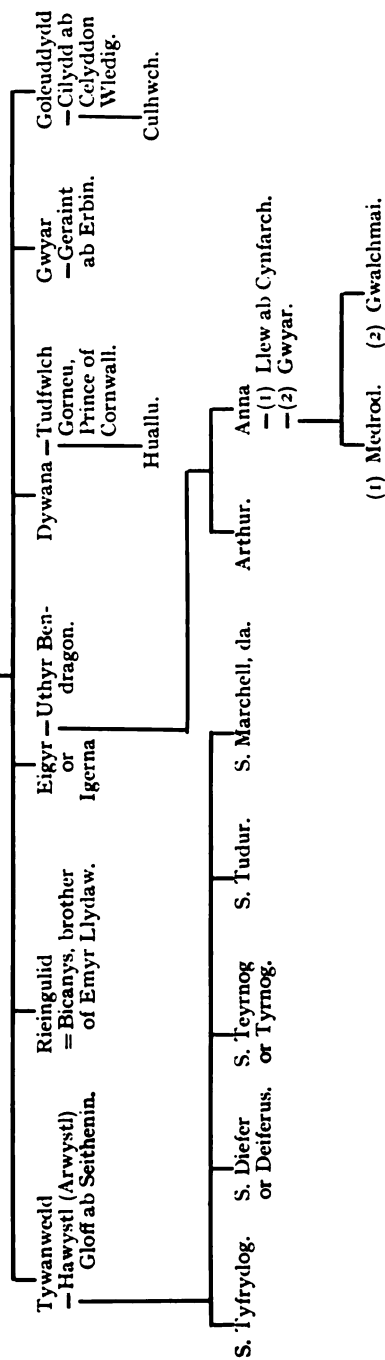
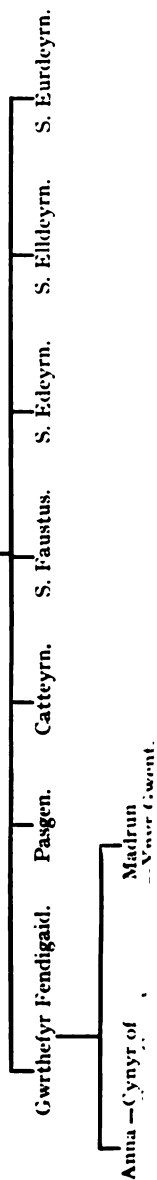


TABLE VIII.

FAMILIES OF AMLAWDD WLEDIG (A) AND OF GWRTHEYRN GWRTHENEU' (B).

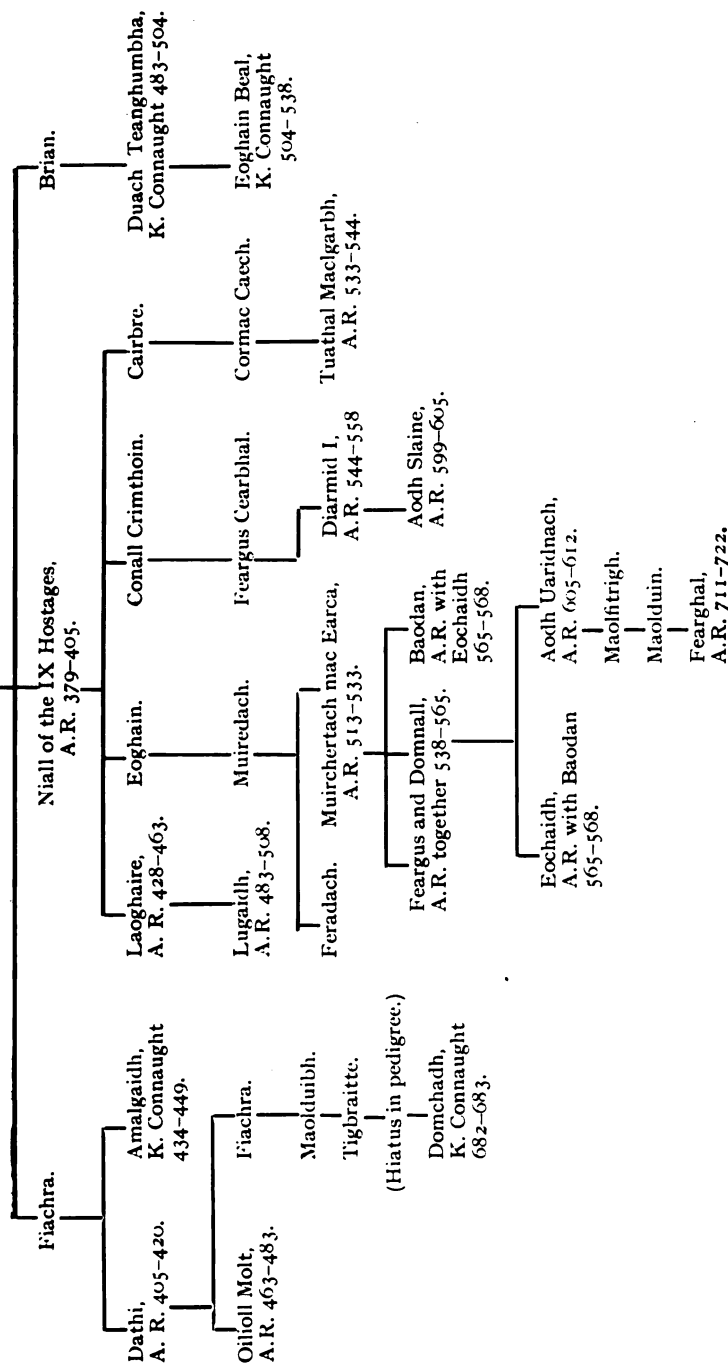
(A.) Amlawdd Wledig—Gwen, da. Cunedda Wledig.

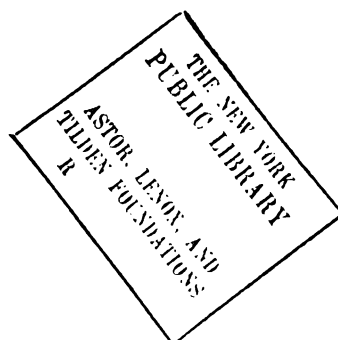
(B.) Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu, son of Guoitaul ab Guoitolin ab Gloui
—Sevira, da. K. Maximus.

The Genealogies of the Welsh Saints '99

PEDIGREE OF SOME OF THE EARLY KINGS OF IRELAND.

A.R. — Ardrigh, High King.
Eochaídh Muighmedon,
A.R. 358—366.





LIVES OF THE BRITISH SAINTS

S. AARON, Martyr

THE earliest authority for S. Aaron is Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*, § 10 (ed. Hugh Williams). He says, "God, therefore, as willing that all men should be saved, magnified His mercy unto us, and called sinners, no less than those who regard themselves righteous. He of His own free gift, in the above mentioned time of persecution, as we conclude,¹ lest Britain should be completely enveloped in the thick darkness of black night, kindled for us bright lamps of holy martyrs. The graves where their bodies lie, and the places of their suffering, had they not, very many of them, been taken from us the citizens on account of our numerous crimes, through the disastrous division caused by the barbarians, would at the present time inspire the minds of those who gazed at them with a far from feeble glow of divine love. I speak of Saint Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon, and the rest of both sexes in different places, who stood firm with lofty nobleness of mind in Christ's battle." Some writers have been pleased to discredit the words of Gildas in reference to Aaron and Julius, but surely without reason; as Professor Williams well says: "One finds it difficult to understand why this story must be doubted. There must have been a tradition to this effect at Caerleon in the sixth century, and in the *Book of Llan Dâu* we find evidence of the very local tradition that has been said to be wanting. The Index of that book mentions about eighteen place-names beginning with *Merthir* (modern Welsh, Merthyr), one of which is '*Merthir Iŷn* (Iulii) et Aaron.' A *merthyr* means, as its Latin original *martyrium* denotes, 'place of martyr or martyrs,' that is, a church built in memory of a martyr, and generally over his grave." Again,—“We can hardly doubt that such a name as Merthyr, from *martyrium*, is as old as *llan*, or *cil*, or *disert*, if not indeed older.

¹ "Ut conicimus." The words imply that Gildas was not certain as to the exact period when the Martyrdom took place.

"This at once carries it beyond the sixth century. Now the boundary of this particular merthir¹ is: 'The head of the dyke on the Usk, along the dyke to the breast of the hill, along the dyke to the source of Nant Merthyr, that is Amir' (pp. 225, 226, 377). Here we have a merthyr of Julius and Aaron in the neighbourhood of Caerleon."² The date of the martyrdom may be placed during the Persecution of Diocletian, 304.

The passage in the *Book of Llan Dâu* alluded to by Professor Williams is important. In the reign of Meurig, King of Glywyssing and Morganwg, the contemporary of Fernvail, who died in 775 according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Nud was Bishop of Llandaff, and a grant was made to him of all the territory of the martyrs Julius and Aaron "which formerly had belonged to Saint Dubricius." (*Immolamus . . . totum territorium sanctorum martirum iulii et aaron quod prius fuerat sancti dubricii in priori tempore.*)³ This certainly shows that in the sixth century there was a Merthir Julii et Aaron at Caerleon, under the jurisdiction of Dubricius. It was in fact solely on the strength of his possession of this church that the fable grew up in later times that Dubricius had been "Archbishop" of Caerleon.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions two churches, with their convent and society of canons, at Caerleon, dedicated to Aaron and Julius.⁴ Bede paraphrases the words of Gildas, but, not understanding that his "urbs Legionum" was Caerleon on Usk, transferred the martyrdom to Chester.⁵ But Bede was very ill informed concerning British matters.

According to Bishop Godwin (1595-1601) there existed in the recollection of the generation preceding that in which he wrote, two chapels called after Aaron and Julius, on the east and west sides of the town of Caerleon, about two miles distant from each other. Probably S. Julian's, now a farm house, but once a mansion—the residence of Lord Herbert of Cherbury—occupies the site of S. Julius's Church.

The reputed site of S. Aaron's chapel is near the Roman camp of Penrhos, between the Afon Lwyd and the Sor Brook that flows into the Usk above Caerleon, and here stone coffins have been found, showing that it was a place of Christian interment.

Soon after the Norman Conquest there was a church in Caerleon

¹ In the text "Territorium."

² *Gildas*, ed. Hugh Williams, note p. 27.

³ *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 225.

⁴ *Itin.*, ch. v. They are also mentioned by Walter Mapes, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 7.

itself dedicated to Julius and Aaron, which was granted by Robert de Chandos to the Priory of Goldcliff, founded by him in 1113.¹

Llanharan, moreover, a chapelry in Llanilid parish, in Glamorganshire, is dedicated to S. Aaron, according to the *Iolo MSS.*; ² and according to the same authority the *Côrau* of SS. Julius and Aaron at Caerleon belonged to the *Côr* of S. Dyfrig.³

There is a Cae Aron (his field) near Caerleon, and a Cwm Aron (his dingle) in the parish of Llanfrechfa, in the neighbourhood.

The two saints are commemorated together on July 1, according to Whytford, who says, "In englond the feest of saynt Aaron and saynt Iule martyrs, y^t in the passyon of saynt Albane were cōuerted, and this day with many other Chrystyans put to dethe." Wilson also in both editions of his *English Martyrologie*, 1608 and 1640, on the same day; also Nicolas Roscarrock.

S. AARON, Hermit, Confessor

A SAINT, presumedly from Wales, in the first half of the sixth century was in Armorican Domnonia, where he is venerated. He is locally known as Aihran; the Latin form of the name is Aaron. He made a settlement a few miles north-east of Lamballe, where he is still commemorated as titular saint of the parish. To the west, in Côtes du Nord, is a chapel dedicated to him, that may indicate his presence there for a while, at Pleumeur-Gautier, on the tongue of land between the River Trieux and that of Tréguier. But he would seem to have retired in old age to an islet near the ancient city of Aleth, at the mouth of the Rance. Off this coast are several islands, the largest being Césambre, on which a colony of Irish monks was settled under an abbot named Festivus.⁴

The islet, now occupied by the town of S. Malo, was then much more considerable in extent than at present. It has been reduced by

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, pp. 727-8; Tanner, *Notitia Monas.*, 1787. Jan-auscek, *Originum Cisterciensium*, tom. i, Vindobon, 1877, p. 190.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 222. According to other accounts to Julius and Aaron conjointly.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 151. This is in agreement with the statement in the *Book of Llan Dâu*.

⁴ "Pervenerunt ad insulam quæ vocatur September, ubi sacerdos fidelis Deo serviens, Festivus nomine, cum schola plurima habitabat." *Vita S. Machuti*, auct. Bili, ed. Plaine, cap. 35.

the action of the sea. At the time when Aaron was there, a vill or two was situated on it ; they have been submerged.¹

The town of Aleth was either abandoned by its ancient inhabitants or was occupied only by pagans. Bili, author of a Life of S. Malo, asserts the former, but this is inconsistent with the rest of the narrative, and is in contradiction with the statement in another Life which says, "Civitas illa eo tempore populis et navalibus commerciis frequenta."²

According to the most trustworthy Lives of S. Malo, this latter saint, on leaving Britain with his companions, came to that isle where was Aihran or Aaron, and there remained for a considerable time till elected Bishop of Aleth ; but Bili says that it was not till later that he paid Aaron a visit. The former authority is best ; according to it, "ingressus insulam vocabulo Aaronis, ab ipso monacho nuncupatam, exceptus est ab ipso officiosissime."³

Here Aaron lived, as says Bili, "desiring to avoid the sight and conversation of bad men." Possibly his mission had not been very successful, and he himself may have been broken with age. He gladly welcomed Malo as coming from Wales, and as having the energy of youth, to enable him to overcome the obstacles that had been perhaps too great for himself. Aihran died in the middle of the sixth century.

The chapel of S. Aaron at S. Malo stands on the highest point of what was once the island that bore his name. It is surrounded by lofty houses, and has been threatened with destruction. Mass is said in it every year on June 22.

There was formerly a chapel of S. Aaron at Ploemeur in Morbihan, in the hamlet now called Saint Déron. At S. Aaron (Côtes du Nord) is a statue of him. He is represented habited in a long monastic garment, girded with a cord, his head bare. His right hand holds a book, in the left is a pastoral crook. Although titular saint of the parish, he has been displaced to make way for S. Sebastian, and his *pardon* suppressed. There is a fine painting in the Cathedral of S. Malo representing the reception of Machu by S. Aaron. According to the Breviary of S. Malo, printed in 1537, a Missal of S. Malo, fifteenth century, and the Missals of 1609 and 1627, his day is June 22.

¹ "Asinam habebat, et quocunque mittebatur exiebat, maximeque ad villam Laioc, quam nunc mari deglutiente derelictam esse videmus, et ad illam villam quæ vocatur Guoroc." *Ibid.*

² Vita S. Maclovii, cap. 10, in *Acta SS. O.S.B.* sæc. i, p. 219 (ed. 1733).

³ Vita S. Maclovii, cap. 15, ed. De la Borderie.

S. ACHEBRAN, Confessor

IN Domesday, Lanachebran is the name of the manor of S. Kevern in the Lizard district of Cornwall. "Canonici Sancti Achebranni tenent Lan-Achebran et tenebant tempore regis Eduardi."

Achebran is presumedly the Irish Aed Cobhran, one of the sons of Bochra; and his brothers were Laidcenn and Cainrech.¹ Bochra was the name of the mother. Their father's name is unknown. The three brothers were commemorated as Saints of Achad Raithin in Hy MacGaille, in Waterford. But Aed Cobhran had a special commemoration on January 28, as having a cell under Inis Cathy. He was consequently associated with S. Senan, if he belonged to the same period. His cell was not in the island of Inis Cathy, but at Kilrush, on the mainland, in Clare. He is there forgotten; there are two old churches in the place, but both are named after S. Senan. This is due to Aed Cobhran not having founded his church, but to his having occupied one belonging to S. Senan.

It is probable that Achebran came to Cornwall along with S. Senan and the party that attended S. Breaca, and that he made his settlement in the Lizard district. Cobhran became Kevern, for the Irish *bh* is sounded like *v*. In later times he seems to have been forgotten or mistaken for S. Cieran, from whom he is wholly distinct. If we are not mistaken, he settled permanently in France, where his name was still further corrupted into Abran.

Flodoard (*d.* 966), in his *History of the Church of Rheims*, says: "Delata sunt etiam tunc temporibus ad ecclesiam beati Remigii memoria Sancti Gibriani a pago Catalaunensi, ubi peregrinatus fuisse noscitur et humatus. Advenerunt siquidem in hanc provinciam septem fratres ab Hibernia peregrinationis ob amorem Christi gratia: hi scilicet, Gibrianus, Helanus, Tressanus, Germanus, Veranus, Abranus, Petranus, cum tribus sororibus suis Fracla, Promptia, Possenna, eligentes sibi super fluvium nomine Maternam, opportuna degendi loca."²

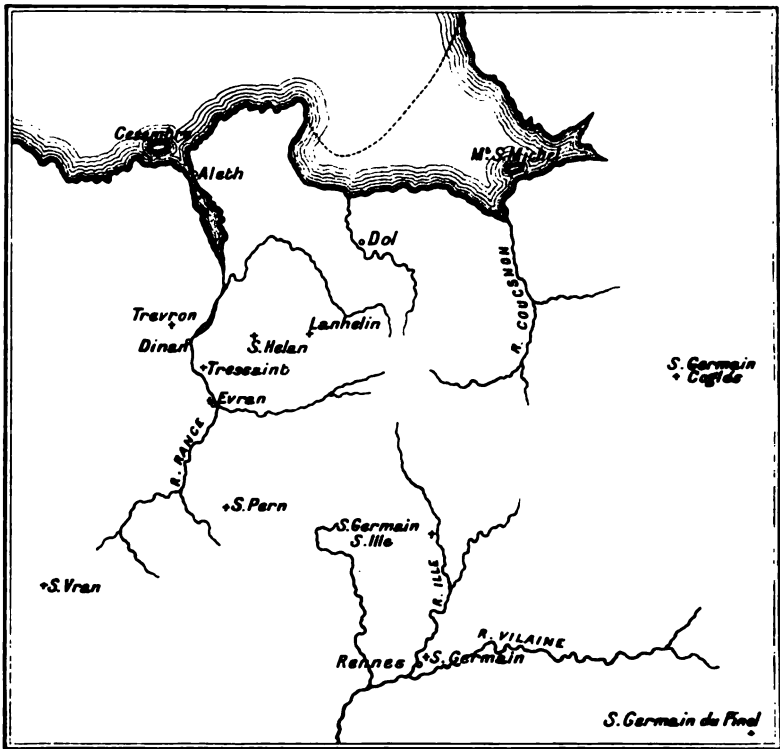
This arrival took place whilst S. Remigius presided over the Church of Rheims (459-530), and Sigebert of Gemblours fixes the date at 509. The Rheims Breviary merely says that it was during the reign of Clovis I (481-511), so that the date given by Sigebert is approximately right.

Leland, quoting from the lost life of S. Breaca (*Itin.*, iii, p. 15), says: "Breaca venit in Cornubiam comitata multis Sanctis, inter quos

¹ *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, 1871, p. clxxiii. Caenrich = Cuindech (?)

² Flodoard, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Rem.*, lib. iv, c. 9 (ed. de Douai, 1617, p. 638).

fuerunt Sinninus abbas, qui Romæ cum Patricio fuit, Maruanus monachus, Germochus rex, Elwen, Crewenna, Helena." In one MS. Thecla is added. It is possible to recognise some of these among those who went to Rheims. Sinninus is Sennen, or Senan of Inis Cathy, who probably brought Aed Cobhran with him. Germochus may be the Germanus of Flodoard. Helena is probably his Helanus. Promptia we suspect is Crewenna, the Goidelic hard *c* becoming *p*, and



CHURCHES OF THE COMPANIONS OF S. ACHEBRAN.

Flodoard's Fracla is Leland's Thecla. The party may be traced on or near the Rance, rendering it probable that they landed at Aleth.

S. Helan is recognised at S. Helan and the adjoining parish of Lanhelin near Dinan. Tressan is seen at Tressaint, further up the river, and S. Veranus is discoverable at Trévron and Evran; also at S. Vran, near Merdrignac. S. Abran has a chapel at Perret; Petran is commemorated at S. Pern; and there is a chain of Germanus foundations in Ille-et-Vilaine. We are somewhat disposed to identify Aed Cobhran with the Abran who has a chapel at N. Dame de Guermené in Perret, near Gouarzec (Côtes du Nord), where he is com-

memorated on December 3. He is there represented in monastic habit, girded about the waist by a cord; his head is bare, his hood thrown back over his shoulders. His feet are covered by his habit. In his right hand he carries a curved stick or *pen-bras*; in his left hand is a closed book. The statue is of the fifteenth century. There is a parish of S. Abran or Abraham in Morbihan, but in the ancient diocese of S. Malo; it was annexed to the diocese of Vannes in 1801.

It is not necessary to accept Flodoard's statement that the party consisted of actual brothers and sisters after the flesh; they probably were spiritual brethren.

In the Life of S. Ailbe we are informed that this illustrious saint, on his way home from Rome, founded a monastic establishment, in which he placed the sons of Guil, previous to his reaching Dol.¹ Germanus, one of the seven who visited Remigius, is inserted in the Irish Martyrologies as MacGoll, and it is possible enough that Ailbe did for a while associate with this party of seven on the river Rance. The time would suit, as Ailbe was in Gaul at the very beginning of the sixth century. Moreover Aed Cobhran and his brothers were of the MacGaille territory.

The day of Aed Cobhran, as already said, in the Irish Martyrologies, is January 28, but he is also commemorated along with his brothers on November 28. In that of Donegal he is mentioned as of Cill-Ruis or Kilrush, in the county of Clare, but he is no longer there remembered.² Cill-Ruis was in the diocese of Iniscathy, which seems to indicate, as already mentioned, that he was a disciple of S. Senan, who is the Cornish Sennen. He is commemorated in the Féire of Oengus, and in the Martyrology of Tallagh as well.

S. ADWEN, Virgin

IN the *Inquisitio Nonarum* she is entered as S. Athewenna. The parish of Advent in Cornwall is locally called S. Anne or S. Tane. In 1340 it is entered as Capella Sanctæ Athewennæ.³ Leland (*Coll.*, iv, 153) gives Adwen as one of Brychan's children who settled in

¹ Vita S. Albei, *Acta SS. Hibern. ex Codice Salmanticensi*, Edinb. 1885, col. 244.

² Letters containing information relative to the Antiquities of Clare, in *Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839*, ii, p. 2.

³ Maclean, *Deanery of Trigg Minor*, ii, p. 297.

North Cornwall. He derives this from a legend of S. Nectan preserved at Hartland. So does William of Worcester (ed. Nasmith, 1778), from a notice of Brychan he found at S. Michael's Mount.

Among the daughters of Brychan known to the Welsh there is only one that might with any degree of probability be identified with her, and that is Dwynwen, and Mr. W. Copeland Borlase conjectured that the chapel of Advent was originally Llanddwynwen.¹ But this is mere conjecture. The church is annexed to Lanteglos, and owing to this circumstance meets with no notice in the Exeter Episcopal Registers.

Dr. Borlase states that Advent parish church was originally dedicated to S. Tathan, as this name occurs, says he, in old deeds. Sir John Maclean quotes deeds in which the name is spelt S. Tawthan (1559), S. Adwen (1572), "Tathen alias Adventte" (1601), etc.² But the *Inquisitio Nonarum* is the better authority for the dedication. See further under S. DWYNWEN.

S. AEDDAN, see S. AIDAN

S. AELGYFARCH, or ELGYFARCH, Confessor

NOTHING is known of this saint further than that he was one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glannog,³ whose territory, called Tyno Helig, was overflowed by the sea in the sixth century. The Lavan Sands, between Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, formed a portion of the territory, which extended to the Great Orme's Head. After the loss of his land, Helig and his sons devoted themselves to religion. Most of them founded churches in various parts of Wales. They are said to have been members of the monastery of Bangor Iscoed in the first instance, but afterwards some of them went to Bardsey. No churches are dedicated to S. Aelgyfarch, nor is his name to be found in any Calendar.

¹ *The Age of the Saints*, pp. 153-4, 159. Truro, 1893. Mr. Borlase supposes that Adwen is a corruption of Llan-dwyn, becoming Ladwyn and then Adwen. Carew calls her Athawyn, *Survey*, p. 92.

² *Deanery of Trigg Minor, sub nom.* Advent, ii, p. 318.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124.

S. AELHAIARN, or ELHAIARN, Abbot, Confessor

THE parentage of this Aelhaiarn is unknown. He was a disciple of S. Dyfrig at Matle.¹ He appears as witness to several grants made to this saint, as that of Lann Iunabui,² and that of Cum Barruc,³ and that of Cil Hal.⁴ He also witnessed the grant of Penally to Dyfrig.⁵ When, later, Cinuin, the king, regranted Cum Barruc to Bishop Elgistil, the same witnesses, both clerical and lay, are quoted, and the grant is apparently only a reaffirmation of the original transfer.⁶ When a grant was made to Bishop Comeregius, Aelhaiarn signed as Abbot of Lann Guruoe, *i.e.* Lann Guorboe.⁷ As such he also witnessed the grant of Lann Loudeu to Bishop Iunapeius.⁸

Lann Guorboe has been supposed to be Garway, but incorrectly; it was *in campo Malochu*. Mais mail Lochou, now represented by the name Mawfield for an older Malefield in *Testa de Nevill* and the Malvern Charters, was the name of Inis Ebrdil, and denoted the country between the Dore valley and the Wye from Moccas down to about Hereford, and the Worm. Guorboe = Gwrfwy in modern Welsh. For this note on the locality of Lann Guorboe we are indebted to Mr. Egerton Phillimore. Whether he migrated to Brittany with S. Teilo and so many bishops, abbots, and clerics on the breaking out of the Yellow Plague in 547 we do not know. Teilo, we do know, received grants from King Budic of Cornouaille, and it is significant that adjoining Plogonnec, near Quimper, where S. Teilo receives a cult, is S. Alouarn, who has given his name to a castle and to a canonry. Alouarn, apparently, is the hermit with staff, bearing a Celtic bell, represented in the same window with Teilo at Plogonnec, in glass of the fifteenth century. On his way through Cornwall along with Teilo, Aelhaiarn may have founded Lanherne, but the parish church is dedicated to the more important S. Maughan or Mawgan.

S. AELHAIARN, Confessor

AELHAIARN ("the Iron Eyebrow") lived in the seventh century, and was a brother to SS. Llwhchaiarn and Cynhaiarn.

The pedigrees of the Welsh saints show great variations on the

¹ *Book of Llan Dav*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

part of the copyists in the genealogy of these brothers.¹ The saint's own name is written Ael-, El-, and Al-haiarn, and out of the number of forms his father's name assumes, Hygarfael appears to be the best attested. This Hygarfael was a son of Cyndrwyn, a prince of that part of ancient Powys which included the Vale of the Severn about Shrewsbury, and he is said to have been "of Llystin Wynnann (or Wennan) in Caereinion in Powys," probably to be identified with Llysin, a township in the parish of Llanerfyl, Montgomeryshire. The church of S. Aelhaiarn is by the same authorities said to be in "Cegidfa," i.e. "the hemlock-field," in Powys. The parish is called to-day in English, Guilsfield. It is near Welshpool.

Three other dedications have been given to this church—S. Giles (wrested from the parish name), All Saints (Browne Willis), and S. Tyssilio, the last from its having been from very early times a *capella* under the mother church of Meifod, as also from the fact that its festival, November 8, agreed with that of S. Tyssilio.

After Aelhaiarn was also named the ancient parish of Llanaelhaiarn in Merionethshire, which has for more than 350 years been annexed to the parish of Gwyddelwern. Its church or chapel is now extinct, but one of the townships still bears the name Aelhaiarn. It is given as "Eccl'ia de Lanhehaearn" in the *Taxatio* of 1291,² and the instrument, "Unio capellæ de Llanalhaern ad vic. de Gwithelwern," dated 1550, is preserved in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*.³

The dedication here is to be accounted for by Aelhaiarn having been a pupil of S. Beuno, and Beuno was for a while settled at Gwyddelwern; so also his foundation at Guilsfield is explained, as Beuno was near the Severn before he moved to Gwyddelwern. When the master quitted Powys altogether, Aelhaiarn left as well, and accompanied him into Lleyn.

To Aelhaiarn is also dedicated the important church of Llanaelhaiarn, under the dominating height of Tre'r Ceiri in Carnarvonshire, and near Beuno's monastery at Clynnog. Here, and at his Well, a little distance to the north, the pilgrims rested on their way to Bardsey, and paid their devotions. Locally the church is called Llanhaiarn, and is said to be dedicated to S. Elern, both corruptions. There is in the parish a large farm called Elernion (a name formed like Ceredigion and Edeyrnion), which is believed to be so named after him. Pennant, in his *Tours*, says the church is "dedicated to S. Aelhaiarn, or the Saint with an iron eyebrow, from a legend too absurd to relate. Near it is a fine well, once much frequented for its reputed sanctity."⁴

¹ *Peniarth MSS.*, 16 and 45; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 421-2, 424-5; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 104; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267.

² P. 286.

³ Fol. 2, collations section.

⁴ Ed. 1883, ii, p. 384.

The legend is given by John Ray in his *Itineraries*. "We were told a legend of one *St. Byno*, who lived at *Clenogvaur*, and was wont to foot it four Miles in the Night to *Llaynhayrne*, and there, on a stone in the midst of the River, to say his Prayers; whereon they show you still the Prints of his Knees. His Man, out of Curiosity, followed him once to the Place, to see and observe what he did. The Saint coming from his Prayers, and espying a Man, not knowing who it was, prayed, that if he came with a good Intent, he might receive the Good he came for, and might suffer no Damage; but if he had any ill Design, that some Example might be shown upon him; whereupon presently there came forth wild Beasts, and tore him in pieces. Afterwards, the Saint perceiving it was his own Servant, was very sorry, gathering up his Bones, and praying, he set Bone to Bone, and Limb to Limb, and the Man became whole again, only the part of the Bone under the Eyebrow was wanting; the Saint, to supply that Defect, applied the Iron of his Pike-staff to the Place, and thence, that Village was called *Llanvilhayrne*. But for a punishment to his Man (after he had given him *Llanvilhayrne*) he prayed (and obtained his Prayer) that *Clenogvaur* Bell might be heard as far as *Llanvilhayrne* Churchyard, but upon stepping into the Church it was to be heard no longer; this the People hereabout assert with much Confidence, upon their own experience, to be true. The Saint was a *South Wales* Man, and when he died, the *South Wales* Men contended with the *Clenogvaur* Men for his Body, and continued the Contention till Night; next Morning there were two Biers and two Coffins there, and so the *South Wales* Men carried one away, and the *Clenogvaur* Men the other." ¹

The story of the restoration of Aelhaiarn out of his bones, one small bone being missing, is an adaptation of a very ancient myth. It occurs in the Prose Edda of Thor on his journey to Jötunhein.² It is found elsewhere. The duplication of the body of Beuno has its counterpart in the triplication of that of Teilo.

Browne Willis says, under Llanaelhaiarn, "Fanium Sancti Elhayarn Acolyti ut fertur Sancti Beunonis." ³ This will account, as already pointed out, for the juxtaposition of S. Aelhaiarn's foundations to those of S. Beuno—Llanaelhaiarn to Clynnog, Carngiwch, and

¹ *Itineraries of John Ray*, Lond., 1760, pp. 228–30. In *Peniarth MS.* 75 (sixteenth century) it is said that Aelhaiarn was one of seven persons whom Beuno raised to life again.

² Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, Lond., 1851, i, p. 57. Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, ed. Bohn, 1847, p. 436.

³ *Survey of Bangor* (1721), p. 273.

Pistyll; the now extinct Llanaelhaiarn to Gwyddelwern; and Guilsfield to Berriew and Bettws Cedewain.¹

S. Aelhaiarn's Well is an oblong trough of good pure water, by the road side, in which the sick were wont to bathe, and there are seats of stone ranged along the sides for the accommodation of the patients awaiting the "troubling of the waters," when they might step in, full of confidence, in expectation of a cure.

This "troubling of the waters" is a singular phenomenon. At irregular intervals, and at various points in the basin, the crystal water suddenly wells up, full of sparkling bubbles. Then ensues a lull, and again a swell of water occurs in another part of the tank.² The Well now supplies the village with water. It was walled round and roofed by the Parish Council in 1900, after an outbreak of diphtheria in the village. The entrance is now kept locked. S. Beuno's Well at Clynnog is similar to it in many respects; this latter is in a ruinous condition.

Rees gives November 1 as the day of S. Aelhaiarn, his authority apparently being Browne Willis.³ The Calendar in Cotton Vesp. A. xiv. however, gives the festival of "Aelhaiarn of Cegidfa in Powys" as November 2, but the entry is in a later hand than the original MS. So also the Welsh Prymer of 1633.

At Guilsfield, a mile and a half from the Church, is a Holy Well, in a lovely secluded dell, where still a concourse gathers to drink the water on Trinity Sunday.

S. AELRHIW

THIS is a name given by Rees⁴ in his list of saints of uncertain date, and to whom Rhiw church in Carnarvonshire is said to be dedicated, with September 9 as festival. No such saint, however, occurs among the genealogies of the Welsh saints. Browne Willis, in his *Survey of Bangor*,⁵ gives against the church "S. Eelrhyw, or Delwfyw. Sept. 9.

¹ In Cardit Library MS. 51 is mentioned a "Llech Albayarn," apparently situated somewhere in Denbighshire (Gwenogfryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii. pp. 253-4).

² This is locally called "the laughing of the water," and it is said in the place that the water laughs when any one looks at it.

³ *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 273; *Survey of Bangor*, p. 273.

⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 396.

⁵ P. 274; *Cambrian Register*, iii. p. 224 (1818).

Fanum in clivo situm." In the latter part of the entry we have an explanation of the name of Rhiw Church.

Cathrall, again, in his *History of North Wales*,¹ gives the church as dedicated to S. Aelrhyw, and adds that there is a well there called Ffynnon Aeliw, the waters of which were supposed to be efficacious in the cure of cutaneous disorders, particularly one of that description denominated Man Aeliw (the mark or spot of Aeliw). In the alternative dedication given by Willis we have Y Ddelw Fyw, or the Living Image, which occurs in several Welsh Calendars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with festival on September 9, and to which there is a number of allusions in mediæval Welsh literature. The Living Image was a rood or crucifix, which, it was alleged, miraculously bled when certain Jews nailed the Image to the cross.² The church of Rhiw is evidently dedicated to Y Ddelw Fyw, in other words, to the Holy Rood; and Aelrhyw and Aeliw have the appearance of corruptions of the name. But the Living Image more particularly had in mind by the Welsh was a rood or crucifix in Mold Church (S. Mary). It is mentioned in two odes, of the late fifteenth century, to Rheinallt ab Gruffydd, of Tower, in the parish of Mold. The one, by Hywel Cilan, in praising Rheinallt's valour in fighting the English, says :—

I roi sawd Iorus ydyw
Urddal i Fair a'r Ddelw Fyw.
(To give battle he is a S. George,
Of the Order of Mary and the Living Image.)

The other, by Tudur Penllyn, contains these lines :—

Gwiw ddelw'r wirgrog a addolaf ;
Y Ddelw Fyw o'r Wyddgrug a fu ddialwr,
Ag ynte i hunan a wnaeth gyfran gwr.
(The worthy image of the true cross will I worship ;
The Living Image of Mold was the avenger,
And he himself did a man's part.)

A rhyming Welsh Calendar in Cardiff MS. 13, circa 1609, commemorates the Festival of the Image thus :—

Gwyl y Ddelw Fyw a phawb a'i clyw,
Yn enwedig pawb a i'r Wyrgrig.
(The Feast of the Living Image, and everybody hears of it,
Especially everybody who goes to Mold.)

¹ Vol. ii, p. 120 (Manchester, 1828).

² Robert Owen, *Kymry*, p. 110 (Carmarthen, 1891), thought the Image " must have been a clumsy replica of some Italian Madonna."

Dafydd ab Gwilym, in the fourteenth century, in one of his poems, exclaims, "Myn y Ddelw Fyw!" "By the Living Image!"¹

S. AFAN, Bishop, Confessor

S. AFAN BUELLT, as he is generally called, was the son of Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, by S. Tegfedd or Tegwedd, the daughter of Tegid Foel (the Bald), lord of Penllyn, in Merionethshire.² Sometimes he is said, but wrongly, to have been the son of Ceredig. He lived in the early part of the sixth century. The epithet Buellt or Buallt (*hodie* Builth) indicates his connection with the cantref or hundred of that name in Brecknockshire. According to a sixteenth century manuscript,³ the hundred then comprised fifteen parishes, covering practically the whole expanse of the county north of the Eppynt. The Rural Deanery of Builth appears to be conterminous with it. Two of the churches within this Deanery are dedicated to Afan, viz. Llanafan Fawr and Llanafan Fechan (or Fach). The latter, which is otherwise called Llanfechan, is now subject to the former. One other church is dedicated to him, that of Llanafan-y-Trawsgoed, in the Deanery of Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire. It has been supposed that there once existed a See of Llanafan Fawr; but it is very improbable. At any rate, if it ever existed, it must have been for a very short period. The supposition is due to an inscription, in a very good state of preservation, at Llanafan Fawr, which reads thus: HIC IACET SANCTUS AVANUS EPISCOPUS. It is deeply cut in capital letters of the Lombardic type, slightly ornamented, on the very hard top-stone of a plain oblong altar tomb in the churchyard; but its date is not older than the end of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century.⁴

There is here nothing to show when or where Afan was Bishop. He

¹ Works, ed. 1789, p. 437. We are indebted to Mr. J. Hobson Matthews, Monmouth, for most of these extracts. To "Yr Wydd Gryc" in the parish list in Peniarth MS. 147, *circa* 1500, is added, "y Ddelw fyw."

² Peniarth MSS. 10, 27 and 45 (last leaves Cedig out); *Tolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 110, 125; *Myn. Arch.*, pp. 415, 418. Afan as a man's name is probably a loan from the Latin Amandus. It occurs also as a river name.

³ Peniarth MS. 147; see Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans' *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 918.

⁴ Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 72.

is traditionally said to have been murdered by Irish pirates—by Danes, according to another account—on the banks of the Chwefri, and that the tomb here marks the site of his martyrdom. In the neighbourhood are a brook called Nant yr Esgob, a dingle called Cwm Esgob, and a small holding called Derwen Afan (his Oak). The rectory is called Perth y Sant (the Saint's Bush).

Rees says that "it is not improbable that he was the third Bishop of Llanbadarn; and his churches are situated in the district which may be assigned to that Diocese."¹

Haddan and Stubbs were disposed to accept the existence, for a short time, of a See of Llanafan, "either coincident with Llanbadarn (the seat of the Episcopate being transferred for the time from Llanbadarn to Llanafan Fawr), or taken out of it."² If it ever existed it was soon merged in that of Llanbadarn, and then both in that of S. David's, probably not long after 720. It is, however, far more probable that Afan was a bishop without other diocese than his own Llan.

The Demetian Calendar (S.) gives S. Afan's Festival as November 16, but the Calendars in the Iolo MSS. and the Welsh Prymers of 1618 and 1633 give the 17th. Nicolas Roscarrock gives November 16. Browne Willis enters S. Afan, with festival on December 17, as patron, with SS. Sannan and Ievan or John, of Llantrisant, Anglesey.³ He has made a mistake in the month.

SS. AFARWY and AFROGWY

THESE saints are given as children of Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, in two lists only of his children, contained in two MSS. belonging to Thomas Trueman.⁴ The names cannot be identified with any of those mentioned in other lists. One name is probably a corruption of the other.

¹ *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 209.

² *Councils, etc.*, i. p. 146. See also Basil Jones and Freeman in their *History of S. David's*, 1856, p. 266.

³ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 279.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142.

S. AFRAN

REES¹ gives Llantrisant, Anglesey, as dedicated to "SS. Sannan, Afran, and Ieuan." Angharad Llwyd, again, in her *History of Anglesey*,² gives the church as dedicated to "SS. Afran, Iefan and Sanan." The only Welsh saint with a name approximating Afran is Gafran, if we are to include him among the saints. We have here clearly a mistake for Afan. Browne Willis³ enters against the church the following, "Fanum tribus Sanctis dicatum, viz. S. Sanan, June 13, S. Afan, Dec. 17, S. Ievan or John, Aug. 29"; and in *Peniarth MS.* 147, circa 1566, there is a list of the parishes of Wales, in which is added to the parish-name Llantrisant, "Sannan and Afan and Evan."⁴

S. AIDAN of Ferns, Bishop, Confessor

THIS saint, in the Welsh Genealogies of the Saints, is called Aidan, Aeddán and Aeddán Foeddawg. By this latter name he is mentioned in the Myvyrian alphabetical catalogue of Welsh Saints.⁵ Another authority gives him as Aidan y Coed Aur,⁶ and the same says further that Aidan's Bangor had "seven choirs with 2,000 members, called after the seven days of the week."⁷ The name Aidan is a diminutive. Professor Rhys makes the Old Irish Oed, later Aedh, Aodh, Haodh, Anglicised Hugh, represent the Welsh *Udd* = Dominus.⁸

Aidan occurs also under the form Madoc, Mo-aid-oc; the suffix *oc* is a diminutive equivalent to *an*; and the prefix *mo* is an Irish term of endearment, of very frequent occurrence. This double form of name has led to confusion. S. Eltain of Kinsale is also called Moelteoc; and Luan is the same as Moluoc.

The genealogists have entered him twice, once under the form Aidan ab Caw, and again as Madog ab Gildas ab Caw, or rather, ab Aneurin ab Caw;⁹ but Gildas and Aneurin are identical. Further confusion has arisen through his identification with a second of the

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 324.

² p. 279 (Ruthin, 1833).

³ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 279.

⁴ Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 912.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 420-1.

⁶ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁸ *Welsh Philology*, p. 216.

⁹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 83, 108, 137.

same name, who was also Bishop of Ferns, but lived some thirty years, or a generation, later. In the Irish Martyrologies there are some twenty Aeds commemorated, and some twenty-three Aidans, and some of these were from the same part of Ireland as Aidan of Ferns. It is not possible to admit that Aidan was son of Caw; he must have been grandson, as his chronology makes him live a generation later than Gildas ab Caw.

The main authority for his life is a *Vita* beginning, "Fuit vir quidam." Colgan published this from a parchment copy obtained from Kilkenny.¹ It is also given by the Bollandists from two MSS. in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan., t. ii, pp. 1112-1120. The same exists among the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum, Vesp. A. xiv, and has been published by Rees in his *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 232-50. It is also published in the *Vitæ SS. Hibern.* from the *Salamanca Codex*, 1888, cols. 463-488. A condensation likewise by John of Tynemouth in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

Mention is also made of him in the Life of S. David,² and in that of S. Cadoc.³ In the *Book of Llan Dâv*, an Aidan is spoken of, a companion to S. Dyfrig,⁴ but this is certainly a different man. There is further mention of him in the Life of S. Molaisse, of Devennish.⁵

In the *Book of Leinster* he is given among the Saints who had double names.⁶ In the *Vita Scti. Davidis* he is spoken of as "Maidoc qui et Aidanus ab infantia",⁷ and in the *Acta Sti. Edani* in the *Salamanca Codex* as "Edanus qui et Moedoc dicitur."⁸ Capgrave, from John of Tynemouth, says, "Sanctus iste in Vita Sti. Davidis 'Aidan' vocatur, in vita vero sua, ut superius patet 'Aidus' dicitur, et apud Meneviam in ecclesia Sti. Davidis appellatur 'Moedock' quod est hibernicum."⁹

The epithet Foeddawg in the Welsh Genealogies is a reduplication of his name.

From the fusion of the two Aidans, both Bishops of Ferns, into one in the *Vita*, great anachronisms have ensued. Aidan is represented as a boy hostage with King Ainmire, 568-571, and as being associated

¹ *Acta SS. Hibern.*, ii, pp. 208 *et seq.*

² *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 106, 108-9; as "Aidus" in the same, pp. 232-50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 80.

⁵ *Sylva Gadelica*, London, 1892.

⁶ *Book of Lismore*, Anecd. Oxon., p. 301. Aed otherwise Maidoc of Ferns.

⁷ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 133.

⁸ *Acta SS. Hibern.*, *Salamanca Codex*, col. 463.

⁹ Ed. 1901, p. 22. The "Life" in Capgrave is a condensation of that beginning, "Fuit vir quidam."

with S. Ruadhan in the cursing of Tara in 554, when an established saint not under thirty years of age. He is further represented as contemporary with Guair Aidhne, King of Connaught, who died in 662. His confessor was Molua of Clonfert, who died in 591 according to the *Annals of Tighernach*, or 604 according to those of the Four Masters. He was intimate in his relations with Brandubh, King of Leinster, who died in 601, and whom he survived.

What increases the difficulty of discrimination between the Acts of the first and the second of the name, both Bishops of Ferns, is that the second, though some thirty years younger, was for some time the contemporary of the elder, and probably was associated with him at Ferns.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* put his death as occurring in 624. The *Chronicon Scotorum* gives two dates, 625 and 656, thereby distinguishing two saints of the same name, and the *Annals of Tighernach* give also 625. He is not to be confounded with Aed Mac Bricc who was Bishop of Kilaire, and who died in 588.

We will now endeavour to take the Life of S. Aidan in order, putting aside what obviously refers to the second of the name at Ferns, who was the son of Setna of the sept of the Colla Uais, and whose mother was Eithne, granddaughter of Amalgaid, king of Connaught.

At an early age Aed ab Gildas was committed to S. David, at Cilmuine, for instruction. An anecdote is told of his early submission to orders. One day he neglected to bring indoors the book in which he had been studying, and rain came on. David was very angry at the prospect of the book being injured, and ordered Aed as punishment to prostrate himself on the sand of the shore, probably at Porth Mawr. Then he forgot all about him, till some time later, when he noticed his absence, and asked where the boy was. His pupils reminded him of the penance he had imposed on Aed, and David at once sent for him, but only just in time to save him from being covered by the rising tide.¹

When the Irish settlers were expelled from the portion of Pembroke-shire and Carmarthenshire that lies between Milford Haven and the mouth of the Towy, S. David seems to have been invited to make religious settlements there, and he took with him his disciple Aidan, who was still young. According to the story, the steward of S. David entertained a lively dislike for Aidan, and annoyed him in many ways. On one occasion, when David was building, probably Llanddewi Velfrey, near Narberth, he despatched Aidan with a waggon and a pair of oxen to bring back the material he needed from beyond the Cleddeu. The steward furnished him out of spite with a yoke that did not fit the

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 236.

necks of the beasts ; nevertheless, Aidan succeeded in his task, and this is recorded as miraculous. He did more, he discovered a ford across the eastern Cleddeu, namely that where now stands Llawhaden Bridge. Aidan here founded the church that, under the above corrupt form, still bears his name. The steward next bribed one of Aidan's fellow students to murder him while they were together in the forest felling trees.

David was privately informed of what was proposed, and, starting from his bed, ran with only one foot shod in the direction taken by the woodfellers, and caught them up at the river, where he sharply interrogated the companion of Aidan and brought him to confess his purpose.¹ A cross was erected on the spot, and it is possible that this may be the cross of an early character now standing in the east wall of Llawhaden church.

While Aidan was in these parts, and Cadoc was with him, an invasion took place—the biographer says of Saxons—but it is more probable that it was of Irish, endeavouring to recover the lands from which they had been expelled, though it is possible enough that Saxon pirates may have assisted them. Aidan and Cadoc gathered their countrymen together, and surrounded the enemy, who were encamped in a valley, rolled down stones upon them, and exterminated them to the last man. There is a chapel of S. Cadoc in the parish of Llawhaden.

A story is told in the *Life of S. Cadoc* of a quarrel with King Arthur relative to rights of sanctuary, and into this story a Maidoc is introduced ;² but as, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Arthur fell in 537, we cannot allow that this Maidoc is our Aidan. The whole story is, however, probably a fabrication.

After the death of S. Patrick, the Christianity of Ireland notably declined. He and the band of ardent missionaries who had worked with him had converted the chieftains, and the obsequious clansmen had submitted to baptism. The apostle had gone up and down through the land, sowing the seed of the Word, and establishing churches. Christianity had been accepted but not assimilated ; it had overflowed Ireland, but had not sunk into and saturated the soil. The first apostles, Patrick and his fellow workers, had done their utmost, but they had been a handful only of earnest men. Patrick had done a wise thing in recommending many of his most hopeful disciples to go abroad to Gaul, to Britain, to Rome, to be more fully instructed in the truths of the religion of Christ, for he had not been able to establish great nurseries of teachers in Ireland itself. As he and his fellow

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 236.

² Vita S. Cadoci, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 48.

workers failed in health and through age, and finally obtained their reward, the Christianity which had been but a varnish, cracked in all directions, and the underlying, unchanged paganism revealed itself once more, and a national apostasy was threatened.

The evidence has been collected by Dr. Todd, in his *St. Patrick*,¹ and it is unnecessary to reproduce it here. The fact, however, has been contested by Professor Zimmer.² The *Catalogus Ordinum Sanctorum in Hybernia secundum diversa tempora*, drawn up, probably, not later than the eighth century, was first published by Ussher, and has been repeatedly reprinted. It divides the Saints into three orders : to the first belong Patrick and his assistants, three hundred and fifty in number, observing but one Mass, and with one rule as to Easter, and this order continued to the time of Tuathal Maelgarbh (533). The Second Order was monastic, and celebrated different Masses derived from S. David, S. Cadoc and from Gildas, and this order lasted from the reign of Diarmid (544) to that of Aedh, son of Ainmire, who fell in 599. Ainmire (565-71), we know, was so concerned at the decline of Christianity in the land that he invited over Gildas, and doubtless others, to revive it, and to this appeal a ready response was accorded. From the great monasteries of Menevia and Llancarfan poured a stream of zealous clergy who set themselves to recover what was lost, and to build up on the foundations laid by Patrick and the Saints of the First Order. Their method of procedure was somewhat different from his. Instead of being mere itinerant evangelists, they planted monasteries throughout the island, to which cells were affiliated, and from these centres radiated the light of the Gospel, and to them were drawn the young of the tribes to which they attached themselves, and of which they became the recognized ecclesiastical heads ; and to these young people they taught the law of God. Many of those nurtured in their schools went out into secular life, bearing ever on them the impress of their early education, others remained in the monastery, and became fellow workers, and later, successors to the great abbots who had started the work.

When the summons came to the Welsh and Breton monasteries, then Gildas started, and Aidan is numbered in the Catalogue among the Saints of the Second Order.³

¹ Todd (J. H.), *S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 107-11.

² *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, Lond., 1902, pp. 63-5.

³ Ussher gives "The two Finans, two Brendans, Jarlath of Tuam, Comgall, Coemgen, Ciaran, Columba, Caineach, Eoghan Mac Laisre, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormac, Colman, Nessel, Laisrean, Barrindeus, Coeman, Ceran, Coman (Endeus, Aedeus, Byrchinus)." Ussher brackets the three last as not being in one of the two copies he had before him. In the Catalogue in the *Salamanca Codex*, the order is, "Finian, Endeus, Colman, Congall, Aedeus,

Aidan was, as we have seen, the son of Gildas, and the disciple of David, and was accordingly admirably calculated for the work. But we encounter chronological difficulties. Gildas crossed to Ireland in 565, and if Aidan died in 625, he would then be aged sixty. If so, then Aidan was begotten by Gildas after he was an abbot, as he retired to Ruys in 520. But it is more probable that Aidan was grandson, and not son of Gildas. Whether Aidan had founded a monastery in Wales before crossing, we are not told, but it is probable that he had, and that it was at Llawhaden, a sweet spot, under the bold rocky height at that time crowned by a Caer, but afterwards by the imposing castle of the Bishops of S. David's.

It is said that when Aidan departed for Ireland he took with him a hive of bees, as he had been informed that they were scarce in that island. Under this figure he is shown to us passing over, and carrying with him his swarm of busy honey gatherers, monks. Apparently he took boat at Porth Mawr, whence in the evening light the mountains of Wexford are visible. He arrived off the Irish coast at a critical moment, when the natives had seized on some strangers who had just landed, were plundering them, and threatened them with death. The arrival of Aidan, with a large number of men in the same vessel, overawed the wreckers, who ran away. Aidan, resolved not to let the matter rest thus, proceeded at once to lodge a complaint with the chief, whose name was Dyma.

The chief received him with overwhelming hospitality, and persisted in taking him on his shoulders and carrying him.¹ He then generously gave Aidan large possessions on which to found churches and monasteries.²

This chief seems to have been Dyma, son of Fergus or Fintan, who was married to Cumaine, mother of Guaire, king of Connaught. By her Dyma had become the father of S. Caimen of Iniskeltra, who died in 562.

Aidan's principal field of labour was among the Hy Cinniselach, of Wexford. His headquarters were, however, at Ferns. He became intimately attached to S. Molaise, of Devenish. When the latter saint had a mind to visit Rome, he passed through Ferns. "Maedoc

Ciaran, Columba, Brendan Brychinus, Cainech, Caemgen, Laysrian, Laysreus, Lugens and Barideus." (Ussher, *Britann. Eccl. Antiquitates*, Dublin, 1639, ii, pp. 913-5; *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 161-4.)

¹ "Accipiens eum in humeris suis, ad terram de navis portavit." *Vita SS. Hib., Codex Sal.*, coll. 468.

² He granted to Aidan the land of Ardladhran. The site has not been satisfactorily identified.

(Aedh) went to meet him, and give him welcome, and afterwards ministered to him with meat and drink, with bed and intimate conversation. Soon these two high saints agreed that when either of them in secret craved a boon (from Heaven) the prayer of both should take the same direction; also that any whom Molaisse might bless should be blessed of Maedoc also, and that whomsoever Molaisse should curse should be cursed also of Maedoc, and likewise *e contrario*. All behests whatever the one saint should ask, both were to co-operate to their fulfilment."¹

Shortly after his arrival in Ireland Aidan is said to have remarked:—"I forgot, before leaving, to inquire of David who should be my confessor in this land." He resolved on making Molua of Clonfert his "soul-friend."

Aidan did not confine his energies to the territory of the Hy Cinnse-lach. He crossed Waterford Harbour, and entered the country of the Nan-Desies, and founded a monastic settlement at Dessert Maimbre, the site of which is not surely determined. Whilst he was there, and was on one occasion taking his turn at grinding at the quern, a beggar approached and asked for flour. Aidan gave him some. Then the man retired, disguised himself, and, pretending to be blind, came and asked again for flour. This exasperated Aidan, and he cursed him, that a blind man should never lack among his descendants.²

There were many wolves about the monastery. One night they carried off a calf. The cow that had lost her calf was inconsolable, and Aidan's cook came to him to say that the poor beast lowed and was restless. Then Aidan blessed the head of his cook and said to him, "There, go and offer your head to the cow." The man did so, and the cow licked his head, and "loved him like a calf."³ Aidan then returned among the Hy Cinnse-lach and founded several monasteries, but made Ferns his central seat, and this is supposed to have taken place about 570.

One day fifty British bishops crossed over from Wales to visit the disciple of S. David. They arrived in Lent, and were taken into the guest-house, thoroughly exhausted by their journey. To them were brought fifty bannocks with leeks and whey for their dinner. But this did not please them, they demanded pork or beef. The steward reported the matter to Aidan. "Can this be permitted in Lent?" he inquired dubiously. "Of course they shall have it," answered the bishop. So they were supplied with butcher's meat.

¹ *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 27. A prophecy of the coming of Maedoc is put into the mouth of Finn Mac Cumhal. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 168.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 239; *Cod. Sal.*, col. 470.

³ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 239.

Before they departed, these bishops deemed it expedient to apologise and explain :—" You see," said they, " that bullock you killed for us had been suckled on milk, and ate grass only, so that its flesh was actually milk and vegetables in a condensed form. But we felt conscientious scruples about those biscuits, for they were full of weevils." Aidan was too good and courteous a man to make answer to this quibble.¹

Aidan is said to have visited S. Fintan Munu and found most of the brethren there very ill. S. Fintan invited Aidan to perform a miracle and cure them. According to the legend, Aidan did this, but on the next day they were all as bad as they had been before, and the legend writer explains this by saying that Fintan thought it more wholesome for their souls to be ill, and so begged Aidan to let them all once more be sick. The fact would seem to be that Aidan attempted a miracle and failed.²

Aidan is said to have been associated with S. Ruadhan of Lothra in the cursing of Tara and of King Diarmid, son of Fergus Cearbhall, in 554, but this is chronologically impossible, as Aidan was not then in Ireland; the Aidan who lent his voice and presence to that unholy conjuration must have been Aedh Mac Bricc, who died in 588. There is no mention of the conjuration in the Life of S. Aidan, but that is not the main objection, as the scandal of the iniquitous proceeding would have deterred a panegyrist from inserting it.

Aidan survived S. Ita, who died in 570, and S. Columcill, who died in 579. He was summoned by his old master, David, to visit him before his death, and gladly went when called. We may associate him with Brandubh, of the Hy Cinnŋelach, who was king of Leinster, and a liberal contributor to the endowment of Ferns and other foundations of the Saint.

Camuscaech,³ son of Aedh Mac Ainmire, king of Ireland, made a raid into Leinster, with the object of carrying off Brandubh's wife. He crossed the River Rye, and Brandubh, taken by surprise, was obliged to fly. However, he secretly surrounded the wooden house in which was Camuscaech and set it on fire. Camuscaech hastily disguised himself as a bard, and, climbing to the ridge piece by the smoke hole, managed to escape, but was pursued and caught, and his head cut off.

¹ Gloss on the Felire of Oengus.

² Vitæ SS. Hib., *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 474-5.

³ The account of these events is given in the historical treatise, *Borumha Laighean*. See O'Hanlon, *Irish Saints*, i, pp. 547-8; and Keating's *History of Ireland*, ed. O'Connor, 1841, ii, p. 68; O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters*

King Aedh, to avenge the death of his son, but under the pretext of coming to exact the Boromha tribute from the Leinster men, crossed the Rye, and marched at the head of a large force against Brandubh. The King of Leinster called S. Aidan to his assistance, to curse his enemy, and the Battle of Dunbolg was fought in 598. In it the Irish head king was slain, and his army completely routed. Soon after this victory, the men of Leinster revolted against Brandubh, and fought the king in a battle at Camcluain, and Saran Soebhdhearc, who had headed the rebels, slew Brandubh in 601. After that, Saran endeavoured to make his peace with S. Aidan, who cursed him that his right hand might rot off to the stump. Saran was frightened, and begged Aidan to impose on him a penance. Aidan bade him go to the tomb of Brandubh, whose body had been removed to Ferns, and pray there for forgiveness. According to the legend, a voice issued from the tomb, "You brute, Saran, you are forgiven." But he lost his hand all the same. Probably he had received a wound in the wrist in the battle, and this gangrened.¹

A pretty story of S. Aidan is told. He was riding one day in his chariot, and the clerical charioteer, looking over his shoulder, said to him:—"I wonder who will be bishop after you?" Now some boys were about, playing at being soldiers, and the chariot was on a way barred by a gate. "Who will succeed me?" said the prelate, "why the boy who has the courtesy to leave his play, and open for us." Then a lad, seeing that the aged bishop was going along the road that was barred, ran forward and flung the gate open for him. Aidan asked his name, and the boy said that he was called Cronan, and then begged that he might be taken into the school at Ferns. To which Aidan replied, "Follow me."² The boy was afterwards known as Mochua Luachra, who is identified with Dachua, bishop of Ferns, after the second Aidan, and died 652. The story was clearly made *ex post facto*. It was remembered that this Dachua had opened the gate to Aidan, and at the same time had asked to be taken as his disciple, and then it was fabled that Aidan had foretold his elevation.

On another occasion Aidan noticed how clever with his fingers a lad named Gobban was, and he took the child's hand in his and blessed it. Gobban became a famous architect. He afterwards built churches for S. Molling and S. Abban.³

¹ *Cod. Sal.*, col. 482. "O Sarane, brute, ignoscitur tibi quod fecisti." *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 246-7.

² *Cod. Sal.*, col. 477. *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 245-6.

³ See on him O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 873, iii, pp. 34-6, 39-42, 44-5.

Once S. Aidan was stooping by the riverside washing his hands. Some men looking on discussed the question whether the Saint ever lost his temper. "We will soon put that to the proof," said one of them, and, giving the old man a thrust, sent him headlong into the water. Aidan quietly got out and made no reprimand, whereupon the man who had thus behaved, ashamed of himself, apologised for his practical joke.¹

S. Aidan died on January 31, on which day he is commemorated in all the Irish Martyrologies, but he does not seem to have had any place in the Welsh Calendars.² John of Tynemouth, however, asserts that in his time the feast of S. Aidan was observed at S. David's. The *Annals of Boyle* state that he died in 600, but Colgan regarded 633 as the right date. This is the date given, as already observed, by the Four Masters, and in the *Annals of Tighernach*. In those of Ulster the two dates are given, 625 and 656, the latter date belonging to his successor and namesake.

When we come to examine into the chronology of the Life of S. Aidan, we have to lay aside the story of his having been a boy hostage to Ainmire (568-71). This belongs to the second Aidan. So also his association with Guaire Aidhne (662) is impossible.

It is not possible to reconcile his chronology with the dates of Gildas = Aneurin, his reputed father. Gildas retired from the world in 520 according to our computation, and although Celtic bishops and abbots did sometimes possess wives, it is not probable that Gildas had one after 520. But Aidan died in or about 625. We are therefore inclined to correct the Welsh genealogies into making Aidan grandson in the place of son of Aneurin-Gildas.

Aidan crossed into Ireland, if summoned by Gildas, in 565, but he must then have been very young, and we should propose the date 570. He does not come into contact with Irish princes till associated with Aedh, son of Ainmire, between 572 and 599. He was on familiar terms with Brandubh, king of Leinster, till the death of that king in 601. He was intimate with S. Fintan Munu, who died in 634, and his "soul-friend," Molua of Clonfert, died in 591. The year 625 is therefore somewhere about the date of Aidan's death.

On one point in the history of Aidan it is well to pause, before leaving him. In his Life it is asserted that King Brandubh, in a Synod of clergy and laity, decreed that the Archbishopric of all Leinster should be for ever in the See and Chair of S. Aidan, that is to say at Ferns, and that the Saint should be at once consecrated Archbishop.

¹ Acta SS. Hibern., *Cod. Sal.*, col. 584.

² Nicolas Roscarrock gives him on this day under the name of Modoack.

But such a thing as a division of Ireland into metropolitan Sees did not exist at that time, and as Dr. Todd has pointed out, the author, if he wrote in Latin, or the translator, if the original were in Irish, rendered the word *ard-episcop* by the seemingly equivalent *archiepiscopus*. But the Irish word implies no more than that he was made a chief bishop in honour, and not that jurisdiction was conveyed with it. An *ard-file* is an eminent poet, an *ard-anchoire* an exalted anchorite.¹

In Ireland Moedoc is contracted into Mogue, and in English Aedh is always rendered Hugh. The shrine of S. Mogue is in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy and is called the Breac Moedoc. S. Aidan's Well is in the townland and parish of Clongeen, in Wexford County.

In Pembrokeshire he is the patron, not only of Llawhaden (Llan-aedan) but also, as Madog, of the churches of Nolton, Haroldston West, and Solva. S. Aidan under Whitchurch. For churches dedicated elsewhere to him under the name Madog see under *S. Madog ab Gildas*.

Ffynnon Fadog, S. Madog's Well, is on the way from S. David's to Porth Mawr and Ty Gwyn. It is an unfailing gush of cold water. The farm of Trefeithan, near S. David's, perhaps bears his name and is Tref-Aedan. He is sometimes given² as patron of Llanidan in Anglesey, with wake on September 30, but this is a mistake. In Cornwall the only church that perhaps commemorates him, altered into Hugh, is Quethiock, and it is remarkable that there the feast is observed on November 2, which in the Irish Calendars is the day of another Aidan who is thought to have had a church in Monaghan, but of whom nothing is known. At Quethiock was formerly a holy well in the wall of the church; at the "restoration" of the building it was filled up and built over, but it is hoped will shortly be reopened. Under the name of Maidoc, he had a chapel at S. Issey, and Smithick, the old name for Falmouth, is supposed to be derived from a chapel to S. Mithic or Maidoc.

In art, the Saint should be represented as a bishop carrying a hive of bees.

J. W. Wolf has dealt with the mythological elements in the legendary life of S. Aidan in "Irische u. Schottische Heiligenleben", in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen, i (1853), pp. 344-58.

¹ Todd, *Life of S. Patrick*, pp. 14-18.

² E.g., B. Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 281.

S. AIDAN of Mavurn, Bishop, Confessor

AIDAN who was a disciple of S. Dyfrig or Dubricius¹ cannot possibly have been the Aidan or Maidoc, Bishop of Ferns, of the foregoing notice. He was with Dyfrig at Hentland, and afterwards was consecrated bishop. King Cinuin, son of Pepiau, made a donation to him of Mavurn in the Dore valley.²

When the Church of Llandaff obtained possession of all the churches of Dyfrig and his disciples, it got hold of Mavurn, and when the compiler of the 14th century additions to the *Book of Llan Dâu* drew up his conjectural list of the bishops of that see, he assumed that Aidan had been one of them, and successor to Uvelviu.³

This Aidan, with his name taking the form of Maidoc, may have been associated with Catwg in the quarrel and reconciliation with King Arthur recorded in the *Vita S. Cadoci*. Catwg had given refuge to a certain Ligessauc, son of Eliman, surnamed Lauhir, who had killed three of Arthur's men. Catwg retained him in Gwynllywg for seven years before Arthur discovered where he was concealed. Then Arthur was highly incensed, as this was exceeding the time limit allowed for sanctuary, and Catwg had to send a deputation to Arthur to settle terms for the man. The deputation was composed of S. David, S. Teilo, S. Dochu, Cynidr and Maidoc. It proceeded to the banks of the Usk, and Arthur held communications with the commissioners by shouting across the river. At last it was promised that Catwg should pay to the king a blood fine of three of the best quality of ox for each man slain, but this was rejected, and it was decided that Catwg should pay one hundred cows.

When this number had been collected and driven to the bank, Arthur refused to receive them, unless they were all of one quality of colour, the fore part red, and white behind. Catwg found it impossible to comply. The story goes on to say that Arthur despatched Cai and Bedwyr into the mud of the Usk to meet the men of Catwg in the middle of the stream, as he sulkily consented finally to receive the cattle. According to the legend, when the cows were passed over into the possession of Arthur, they were transformed into bundles of fern. This probably means no more than that he accepted fern-coloured cattle.

Then Arthur granted to Catwg the right of sanctuary for seven years, seven months and seven days.⁴

¹ Vita S. Dubricii in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 80.

² *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 311.

⁴ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 48-9.

As, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Arthur died in 537, this incident, if it ever did occur, took place too early for Aidan, the disciple of David, afterwards Bishop of Ferns, to have been the Maidoc of the story.

S. AILBE, Bishop, Confessor

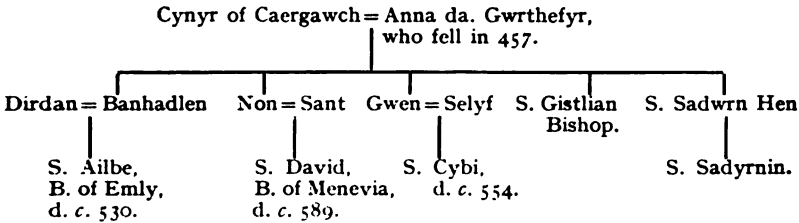
THE materials for the life of this remarkable man are obtained from a very unsatisfactory biography, more than ordinarily surcharged with the miraculous lement, and containing anachronisms. Of this several MS. copies exist, with slight variations. It is contained in the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, but wanting one folio. Another copy is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (E 3, 11). Another in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin. Another again in the Burgundian Library, Brussels (2324-40, fol. 33). It is on this that the Life in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists has been composed (the original is not printed), September 12, iv, pp. 26-31. But this is the Life in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, published in *Acta Sanctorum Hibern.*, Edinburgh, 1888.

Further material is obtained from the Life of S. Patrick, that of S. Cieran of Saighir, and those of S. Colman of Dromore, S. Columba of Tir-da-glas, S. Declan and S. Findchua.

Among the most glaring anachronisms are these. Ailbe is made a convert of S. Palladius before the coming of S. Patrick, about 439, and is reported to have visited S. Samson at Dol in or about 550. He is represented as one of the prepatrician prelates of Ireland, and yet as receiving a grant from Scanlan Mor, King of Ossory, 574-604. But the historical impossibilities concern mainly his early life, and his period can be pretty accurately determined by that of the princes with whom he was brought into contact, and by that of his disciples, who belong to a generation later than himself. According to the Welsh genealogies Ailbe or Elfyw was a son of Dirdan, a "nobleman of Italy," probably of Letavia, Armorica, often confounded with Latium. His mother was Banhadlen, or Danadlwen, daughter of Cynyr of Caer-gawch, and sister of S. Non.¹

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 141, 144; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418. Mab Elfyw is the name of a commote of Cantref Mawr in Ystrad Tywi, Carmarthenshire, but it probably did not derive name from him.

This would make him belong to the same generation as S. David.



But the Irish have a strange and improbable account of his origin. His father was named Olchu or Olchais, who was in the service of Cronan, a chieftain of Eliach, now Eliogarty, in Tipperary. His mother was a maidservant in the household, who loved Olchu, "not wisely but too well." Olchu, on finding that she was about to become a mother, and fearing the wrath of the chief, ran away. On the birth of the child, Cronan ordered the little bastard to be exposed, and it was cast behind a rock, where a she-wolf took pity on it and suckled it. Many years after, when Ailbe was a bishop, he was present one day at a wolf hunt, when one old grey beast fled for refuge under his gabardine. "Ah, my friend!" exclaimed Ailbe. "When I was feeble and friendless thou didst protect me, and now I will do the same for thee."¹

He was found by a man named Lochan, who gave him the name Ailbe from the rock (*ail*) under which he lay; the she-wolf, however, whined and was sore troubled to lose her nursling; but "Go in peace," said Lochan to the beast, "I shall keep the boy."

A few years later Lochan gave the child to be fostered by some British who had settled in Eligoarty, perhaps at Ballybrit, which was a part of the territory of Eile O'Carroll in Munster.² Lochan was son of Laidhir, one of the Aradha, a Leinster tribe settled near Lough Derg, and his mother was a kinswoman of Olchu, the child's father.

Whilst Ailbe was with the Britons, his opening mind received ideas, and he became thoughtful; he loved to look on the spangled heavens and to question the origin of the starry host. "Who can have formed these lights?" he inquired. "Who can have set them in their places, and ordered the sun and moon to run their courses? O! that I might know Him!"

A Christian priest overheard him thus speaking, and took and baptised him, after having given him suitable instruction.³ It is

¹ Vita in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 235.

² Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, Dublin, 1882, p. 466.

³ "Cum ergo hanc prudentem orationem sanctus puer Albeus orasset, Palladius de propinquo audiens eum, salutavit illum, et secundum sui cordis deside-

possible that the Irish story may have been invented to explain his name, as Ailbe might be supposed to derive from *ail*, a rock, and *beo*, living. A very doubtful etymology, but sufficient for the starting of a fable.

It will be seen from the Irish story, the childhood of Ailbe is said to have been passed among Britons. There can be little doubt that a good many from Wales did pass over into South Ireland, and especially members of the Brychan family or clan, indeed if any reliance can be placed on the *Tract on the Mothers of the Saints* ten of the reputed sons of Brychan and two of the daughters founded churches and received a cult there.¹

Moreover, two of the sisters of S. David, daughters of Sant and S. Non, were honoured there, Mor as the mother of S. Eltin of Kinsale, and Magna, mother of Setna.²

That intermarriages between the Irish and the British were by no means rare may be judged by the story of S. Lomman. Patrick landed at the mouth of the Boyne, and proceeded up the country, leaving his nephew Lomman to take care of the boat. After awaiting the return of his uncle eighty days, Lomman ascended the river to Ath-Trim and was taken into the house of Fedlimid, son of Laogaire. King of Ireland, who received him hospitably, because his wife was a British woman, as had been also his mother.³ It is, accordingly, by no means necessary to regard the Irish story and the Welsh account as referring to different persons. The only thing to be rejected is the story of the illegitimate origin of Ailbe, and his being found under a rock.

It would seem that the British with whom Ailbe was were not very perfect Christians, for they took no trouble to instruct him in rudimentary truths, and it was but by chance that a priest took him in hand. After a while the British settlers resolved on returning to their native land, and intended leaving Ailbe behind; but, finally, moved by his entreaties, they consented to take him to Britain with them.

How long he remained in Britain we are not told, nor where he was, but he is known in Wales as Ailfyw or Elfyw, who founded a church, now a ruin, called S. Elvis, in Welsh Llanailfyw, or -elfyw, near S.

rium, docuit eum in hiis omnibus et baptizavit illum." *Vita SS. Hib.*, col. 237. The copy quoted by Ussher is not quite the same: "Quidam Christianus sacerdos missus a sede apostolica in Hiberniam insulam multis annis ante Patricium ut fidem Christi ibi seminaret," etc., Ussher, ii, p. 781.

¹ *Loca Patriciana*, Geneal. Tab. vii.

² Mor and Magna may be the same, as Magna is said to have been the mother of Maelteoc, perhaps the same as Eltin.

³ Todd, *S. Patrick*, pp. 257-62, from the *Book of Armagh*.

David's, consequently near where lived his aunt, S. Non. This foundation cannot, however, have taken place till much later.

Before long Ailbe felt a desire to prosecute his studies abroad, and to visit Rome. His adventures on the continent form a tissue of fable and absurdity, and it is doubtful whether any historic truth underlies this part of the story, which was thrust into his "Life" for a set purpose, as we shall presently see.

According to the legend he studied the Scriptures under a Bishop Hilary at Rome.¹ The Bollandists suppose that this was Pope Hilary (461-8). But Bishop Hilary is not represented in the story as pope, for Clement is spoken of as being the then ruling pontiff, and there was no such Bishop of Rome after Clemens Romanus who died *circa* 100 and Clement II (1046-7). According to the story, Ailbe sought consecration as bishop from Clement, but the Pope refused to put his hand between heaven and so sacred and gifted an individual as Ailbe, who was accordingly consecrated by angels. All that can be gathered from this is that he did not receive episcopal consecration from the Roman Church but in some monastic establishment. The story was, however, invented for a purpose.

In the eleventh or twelfth century, the kings of Munster and Connaught were desirous of having archbishops in the south of Ireland, that their bishops might not be subject to Armagh, the archbishop of which was generally a clansman of the Northern O'Neils. They accordingly set up an agitation among the clergy of the south, to claim to have archbishops of their own. In order to support this claim, the story was fabricated that the south of Ireland had been evangelised at least thirty years before the arrival of S. Patrick, and that by the instrumentality of bishops consecrated at Rome.² For this purpose also the lives of the four bishops, who were supposed to have preceded Patrick, viz. Ailbe, Ciaran, Ibar, and Declan were interpolated, with the result that havoc was made of their chronology. The interpolator of the Acts of S. Ailbe thought he would do better for his hero than have him obtain commission from the Pope; he made him receive that direct from heaven. On his way back to Ireland from Rome, Ailbe founded a religious colony, where not stated, and preached to the Gentiles and converted many. He did more; he struck a rock, and thence issued four rivers which watered the whole province. In

¹ "Albeus Romam perrexit ibique apud Hylarium episcopum divinam didiscit scripturam" (*Vite SS. Hib.*, col. 240). According to the legend he meets with lions in the woods as he is on his way to Rome; and Bishop Hilary set Ailbe to be his swineherd for three years.

² Todd, *S. Patrick*, pp. 220-1.

the monastery there founded he left the sons of Guill. Dr. Todd supposes that it was to Gauls that Ailbe preached, and that he filled his religious houses with their sons. But the meaning does not seem to be this. Immediately after making this foundation he went, says the author of the *Life*, to Dol and visited S. Samson ; and his monastery was near where was a great river. There is a gross anachronism in making Ailbe visit S. Samson at Dol, for that Saint was not there till about 546.¹ But the writer seems to have had an idea of whereabouts his hero did spend some time. The sons of Guill (Meic Guill)² were probably German, Gibrian, Tressan, Helan, Abran, and others who visited S. Remigius at Rheims, about 500.³ We are disposed to think that the visit of Ailbe to the Continent did not take place as early as represented in the *Life*, but rather at this period.

As these Saints have left their traces along the Rance and the upper waters of the Vilaine, we may suppose that Ailbe's settlement was in these parts. We have evidence of a colony of Irish saints in these parts in the fact of churches there with Irish dedications. Next we have Ailbe in Menevia. Entering a church, he found the priest unable to proceed with the Sacrifice, a sudden dumbness had fallen on him. Ailbe pointed out the cause. A woman in the congregation bore in her womb one who was to become a great bishop, in fact, S. David ; and it was unbecoming that a priest should celebrate in the presence of a bishop.⁴

The same story is told in the *Life* of S. David by Rhygyfarch, and the priest there is said to have been Gildas,⁵ as also in the *Life* of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan.⁶ As Patrick is said to have prophesied the birth of S. David thirty years previously, when on his way to his great mission in Ireland, we see at once an anachronism in making Ailbe a pre-Patrician Apostle of Ireland.

Ailbe remained in Menevia till David was born, his cousin if we accept the Welsh genealogies, and it was he who baptised and fostered him.⁷ He now returned to Ireland, and, instead of landing in Water-

¹ "Deinde venit Albeus ad civitatem Dolomoris (Dol-mor) in extremis finibus Lethe." (*Lectavia* = Llydaw). *Vita SS. Hibern.*, col. 244.

² O'Gorman, *Martyr*, July 30.

³ See above under S. Achebran.

⁴ "Ideo non potes offerre quia hec mulier habet in utero episcopum ; hic est David Cilli Muni. Sacerdos enim coram episcopo non debet, nisi illo iubente, celebrare." *Vita SS. Hibern.*, col. 245.

⁵ *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, p. 120.

⁶ Ed. Prot. Hugh Williams for the Cymmrodorion Society, p. 400.

⁷ "Pater filium suum ipsum David obtulit sancto Albeo in eternam." *Vita SS. Hibern.*, col. 245. In the *Vita S. David* he is called Heluus.

ford, as would seem most convenient for one shipping from Menevia, he left his boat in the north among the Dál-Riadans, where he placed one of his disciples, Colman, at Kil-roiad, now probably Kil-root in Antrim. The Dál-Riadan King, Fintan Finn, had recently been engaged in war against the men of Connaught, who had captured his castle and three sons. On the arrival of Ailbe in his land the King at once sought him and entreated him to accompany his host to battle and show his power by cursing the enemy, after the usual Druidic method. Ailbe consented, and success attended the King, who nearly exterminated the men of Connaught,¹ and recovered his wife and sons.

Ailbe now visited S. Brigid at Kildare (d. 525), and was well received by her. Thence he went south to Munster, where he sought Aengus Mac Nadfraich, the king, at Cashel. Here it was that he is reported to have met S. Patrick, and that the altercation took place between Patrick on one side and SS. Ibar, Ailbe and Ciaran on the other, who were unwilling to recognise his supremacy over all Ireland. In the end some agreement was come to, and it was settled that Ailbe should be bishop over Munster, with his seat at Imlach Jubhair or Emly. Archbishop Ussher supposes that this meeting took place in 449, but it is more than doubtful if it ever took place. The whole story of the controversy and the settlement seems to have been an invention foisted into the Life, in connexion with the claims made by the bishops of southern Ireland to obtain archiepiscopal jurisdiction for Cashel, in opposition to Armagh.²

Ailbe appears to have enjoyed the favour of Aengus Mac Nadfraich to such an extent, that when Endeus desired to settle in Aran, he sought Ailbe's intercession with the King to grant the island to him. Aengus was, however, loath to make the grant till he had seen the island; but when he had done so, and perceived what a bare inhospitable rock it was, he consented, and made over Aran to Endeus. As Aengus fell in the battle of Ochla in 489, this must have occurred somewhere about 480. The intercession of Ailbe is the more noticeable, because Enda was brother-in-law to Aengus, whose first wife, Darerca, was Ailbe's sister. Enda died very aged about 540. Another who sought a site for a monastery from Ailbe was Sincheall, son of Cennfionnan, of a renowned Leinster family. Ailbe had formed a settlement at Cluain-Damh on the banks of the Liffey, and this he abandoned to Sincheall, who however later moved to Cill-achadh-droma-fota, now Killeigh in King's County. Sincheall died in 548, according to Duaid Mac Firbis, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and

¹ "Gentes Connactorum delevit." *Cod. Sal.*, col. 247.

² Haddan and Stubbs, ii, p. 290.

those of Ulster, so that here again we have a means of fixing approximately the period at which Ailbe lived.

Ciannan, bishop of Duleek, is named as a disciple of Ailbe, and he, according to the *Ulster Annals*, those of Inisfallen, and those of the *Four Masters*, died in 489. Colgan however doubts if his death can have taken place at so early a date.¹

Other disciples were S. Colman of Dromore and S. Nessian of Mungret. The date of Colman's death is not known, but from his *Acts* it is apparent that he was contemporary with Diarmid Cearbhal, king of Ireland, who died in 538. Nessian died in 551, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, but in 561 according to those of Clonmacnoise.

Ailbe baptised that extraordinary Saint, Findchua of Bri-gobann, and received as fee for so doing seven golden pennies,² and this took place while Eochaid was king of Connaught, and Aengus Mac Nadfraich was king of Munster, an anachronism, as Eochaid was king about 550, sixty years after the death of Aengus.

On one occasion Ailbe visited a religious community of women at Accadh-Ceroth, and found them in sore trouble. They had been given a boy to foster named Cummine, son of Echelach. But he did not do justice to his bringing up. He had associated with himself some wild bloods, and had taken a vow on him called *dibherc*,³ which would appear to have been like that of the Thugs, to murder right and left.⁴ At the instigation of the pious virgins, Ailbe sought the young man out, and induced him to abandon the life to which he had vowed himself.

Another disciple of Ailbe was Aengus Maccrídh of Mochta, who lived through the Yellow Plague of 547-50.

He was consulted by S. Scethe⁵ of Ardskeagh, in the county of Cork. The story was told that she was short of oxen for ploughing, whereupon Ailbe sent her a pair of stags, and these served her for many years. At last, wearied with bearing the yoke, they went of their own accord to Emly to beg the Saint to release them. A more probable story is one that she begged of him a copyist to transcribe for her the *Four Gospels*, and with this request he cheerfully com-

¹ *Trias Thaum.*, p. 217.

² *Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, p. 232.

³ *Dibhirceach*, diligent, violent.

⁴ "Votum pessimum vovit, scilicet dibherc . . . exivit Cummine cum suis sociis, et jugulaverunt homines." *Cod. Sal.*, col. 251.

⁵ In the *Vitæ SS. Hib.*, *Cod. Sal.*, her name is given as Squiatha. She is commemorated on January 1.

plied. He had also the visitation of another house of pious women; the names of two of these, Bithe and Barrach, are given.

Ailbe was dissatisfied with the liturgy in use, and sent two disciples, one, Lugaid, was probably the son of Aengus Mac Nadfraich, to Rome to obtain a better copy. He also drew up a monastic Rule. He frequently visited Ossory, and received a grant of lands from Scanlan Mor, its king, who died in 604, but is held to have begun his reign in 574. If this be true, it throws the date of Ailbe very late in the sixth century, and this is for other reasons impossible to allow. We are informed that, weary with the duties of his office, Ailbe meditated flight to the Isle of Thule. This is Iceland, and it is certain that Irish hermits did occupy the Westmann Islands off the south coast before the arrival of the Norse colonists in 870, as Irish bells and other ecclesiastical relics were discovered there by the new settlers.¹ When, however, Aengus Mac Nadfraich heard of Ailbe's intention, he gave orders that all the harbours should be watched to prevent the departure of the bishop.

The seat of Ailbe's bishopric and principal monastery was Emly, beside a lake that at one time covered two hundred acres, but has now been drained away, and the bottom turned into pasture. The land around is fertile, and the place is in the county Tipperary, near the River Glason. Till Cashel rose into importance it was of some consideration. Now it has sunk to a village. The *Acta Sancti Ailbei* end:—"No one could well relate the humility and the meekness of S. Ailbe, his charity and pitifulness, his patience and long-suffering, his fastings and abstinence, his assiduous prayer and nightly vigils. He fulfilled all the commandments of Christ. On account of these good works S. Ailbe passed away to join in choirs of the angels singing their sweet songs, even to Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom be honour and glory through the ages. Amen."²

The Annals of Ulster and Inisfallen give 526 (527) as the date of Ailbe's death, but the former repeats the entry under the years 533 and 541. The latter is the date given by the Four Masters. The *Chronicon Scottorum* has the Rest of Ailbe of Imlech Ibhair at the date 531. The date 541 is that of the death of another Ailbe, of Sencua.

S. Declan, the Apostle of the Nan-Decies, is represented as an intimate friend of SS. Ailbe and Ibar. Yet Declan must have been junior, for he made a close compact of friendship with S. David, who had been baptised by Ailbe. Declan was half-brother to Colman and Eochaid,

¹ Landnáma-bok in *Islandínga-Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1842, i, pp. 23-4.

² Vitæ SS. Hib., *Cod. Sal.*, col. 260.

who were sons of his mother by Aengus Mac Nadfraich.¹ Consequently there are many indications pointing to the apostolic labours of Ailbe having taken place during the close of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth ; and it is significant that there is in his Life no mention of his having had any dealings with succeeding kings of Munster, though this may be in part accounted for by the humiliation of Munster after the battle of Killosnad, or Kellistown, in 489. When the Irish Annals are so uncertain as to the actual date of Ailbe's death, it is in vain to attempt to give it with any precision. In the *Félire of Oengus*, Ailbe is commemorated on September 12. On the same day in the *Martyrology of Tallagh*, and the *Martyrology of Donegal* ; and on that day O'Gorman enters :—" To the starry heavens, whither we shall go, (belongs) Ailbe of Imlech Ibair."

Roscarrock in his Calendar gives Ailbe on September 12.

In the second edition of Wilson's *English Martyrology* on February 27 is a "S. Eloius, confessor and bishop of Menevia, in Pembroke, Wales." Wilson, however, was very arbitrary in his attribution of days. Whytford is more correct ; in his *Martiloge* (1526) he has on September 12, among the Additions, "In yrelond ye feest of saynt Abbey a bysshop and confessor of synguler p̄fectyon and many myracles." Among the "Sayings of the Wise," printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, occurs the following :—

Hast thou heard the saying of Elfyw,
A very wise man without his equal ?
"Let every sort go to where it belongs." *
(Eled rhyw ar barth pa yw.)

A metrical Rule of S. Ailbe instructing Eoghain, son of Saran, of Cluain-Caolain, is in the Royal Irish Academy Library, Dublin, MS. 23, N. 11, p. 186. Ailbe is invoked in the *Stowe Missal*, published by Warren.³

S. AILFYW, see S. AILBE

S. ALAN, Confessor

ALAN FYRGAN, son of Emyr Llydaw, was obliged, with his father, to fly Armorica. The portion of Brittany from which this family came

¹ Eochaid succeeded his father and died 523. *Annals of the Four Masters.*

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 258. There is an old Welsh tune called "Côr Elfyw."

³ *The Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 238, 240.

was, as we learn from the Life of S. Samson, Broweroc, or the County of Vannes, which was occupied by the British from an early period. For some reason unknown to us, but probably a family quarrel, Emvr Llydaw and all his sons fled to Wales. Alan, it has been supposed, entered the College of S. Illtyd. He had three sons, Lleuddad, Llonio Lawhir and Llyfab, who are also said to have been members of Illtyd's College. Rees¹ seems to have been the first to incorporate him among the Welsh Saints, as his name never occurs so much as once in any of the earlier saintly genealogies, nor, so far as we have noticed, in any of the later ones. He only occurs therein in the pedigree given his three sons. His epithet Fyrgan appears under a variety of corrupt forms in the late copies.

In the only notice that occurs of him in Welsh literature he assumes a totally different rôle from that of a monk. In the "Triads of Arthur and his Warriors" we are told that one of the "Three Disloyal Hosts (*Aniweir Teulu*) of the Isle of Britain" was "the Host of Alan Fyrgan, which turned back from its lord on the road at night, leaving him and his servants at Camlan, and there he was slain" ² (in 537).

An Alan is venerated in the diocese of Quimper as having been bishop there, but he appears in no genuine list of the Bishops. An Allorus appears as third bishop of Quimper in the list in the Quimper Cartulary; Corentine was the first, then came Goennoc, and then S. Allorus.³

No Allan occurs in this catalogue, and S. Allan of Quimper is doubtless this Allor. Corentine signed the decrees of the Council of Angers in 453, so that the date of Allor would be about 500.

The legend of S. Alan is appropriated from that of S. Elan de Lavaur, near Toulouse, which is itself a fraudulent composition. The Church of Lavaur possessed the relics of a petty local Saint, named Elan, of whom no record remained, and some one connected with the church deliberately adapted and altered the genuine Life of S. Amandus of Maestricht to suit the Gascon saint; he did more, he manipulated, as well, certain records of donations to the church of Maestricht, to serve the purpose of the clergy of Lavaur, to enable them to lay claim to some estates in their own neighbourhood, coveted by them. This false life was then further appropriated by the Church of Quimper for its Saint, Alain, of whom nothing was known.

¹ *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 221.

² For the Triads see Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, pp. 456-64, where they are printed from Peniarth MS. 45, of the late thirteenth century.

³ *Bulletin de la Commission diocésain de Quimper*, 1901, p. 33.

Another Alain is venerated at Corlay (Côtes du Nord) ; he is regarded as having been a priest, but nothing is known of him. His Feast is there observed on December 27. (Abbé Chastelain quoted by Tresvaux in his edition of Lobineau, *Vie des Saints de Bretagne*, Paris, 1836, p. xli.)

At Corlay is the Holy Well of the Saint, as also his statue of the fourteenth century, representing him in sacerdotal vestments on his knees, a book under his left arm, and his hands joined in prayer. Corlay was formerly in the diocese of Quimper, but is now in that of S. Brieuc.

S. ALBAN, Martyr

THE earliest authority for the protomartyr of Britain is Gildas, who says, "Alban of Verulam . . . through love hid a confessor when pursued by his persecutors, and on the point of being seized, imitating in this Christ laying down his life for the sheep. He first concealed him in his house, and afterwards exchanged garments with him, willingly exposed himself to the danger of being pursued in the clothes of the brother mentioned. Being in this way well pleasing to God, during the time between his holy confession and cruel death, in the presence of the impious men, who carried the Roman standard with hateful haughtiness, he was wonderfully adorned with miraculous signs, so that by fervent prayer he opened an unknown way through the bed of the noble river Thames, similar to that dry little-trodden way of the Israelites, when the Ark of the Covenant stood long on the gravel in the middle of Jordan ; accompanied by a thousand men, he walked through with dry foot, the rushing waters on either side hanging like abrupt precipices, and converted first his executioner, as he saw such wonders, from a wolf into a lamb, and caused him together with himself to thirst more deeply for the triumphant palm of martyrdom, and more bravely to seize it." ¹

The next authority is Bede. Bede says, speaking of the persecution under Diocletian, "At that time suffered S. Alban, of whom the priest Fortunatus (*circ.* 580) in the praise of Virgins, where he makes mention of the blessed martyrs that came to the Lord from all parts of the world, says :—

'In fruitful Britain's Isle was holy Alban born.'²

¹ *Gildas*, ed. Hugh Williams, cc. 10, 11.

² "Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert." Venant. Fortunat., *Poem.* VIII, iv, 155.

“ This Alban, being yet a pagan, at the time when the cruelties of wicked princes (Diocletian and Maximianus) were raging against the Christians, gave shelter in his house to a certain cleric, flying from the persecutors. He observed this man to be engaged in constant prayer and vigil night and day ; when suddenly, the Divine grace illumining him, he began to imitate the example set before him of faith and piety, and being little by little instructed by this man’s holy admonition, he rejected the darkness of idolatry, and became a Christian in all sincerity of heart.

“ The aforesaid cleric had been for some days entertained by him, when it came to the ears of the wicked prince, that this holy confessor of Jesus Christ, whose time of martyrdom had not yet come, was concealed in the house of Alban. Thereupon he sent some soldiers to institute a strict search for him. When they arrived at the martyr’s house, S. Alban immediately presented himself before them, instead of his guest and master, in the habit or mantle which he wore, and was led bound before the magistrate. It happened that this latter, at the time, was standing at the altar and was engaged in offering sacrifice to devils. When he saw Alban, vastly incensed at his having thus voluntarily put himself in the hands of the soldiers, to shelter his guest, he commanded him to be dragged up to the images of the demons, before which he stood, saying, ‘ Because you have chosen to conceal a man who is a rebel and sacrilegious, in place of giving him up to the penalty that is his due, you shall undergo the penalty allotted to him, if you abandon the worship of our religion.’ Alban, who had declared himself a Christian to the persecutors, was not at all daunted at the threat, but putting on the armour of the spiritual warfare, he openly declared that he would not obey the command. Then said the magistrate, ‘ Of what family and race are you ? ’ ‘ How can it concern you of what stock I come ? ’ answered Alban. ‘ If you desire to hear the truth of my religion, be it known to you that I am now a Christian under Christian obligations. I am called Alban by my parents,’ he replied ; ‘ and I worship the true and living God, who created all things.’

“ The magistrate hearing these words, was inflamed with anger and said, ‘ If you will enjoy the happiness of eternal life, do not delay to offer sacrifice to the great gods.’ Alban replied, ‘ These sacrifices which you offer to demons can neither profit those to whom offered, nor avail to obtain the wishes and desires of those that offer them. On the contrary, whosoever shall do sacrifice to these images, will have everlasting pain for his recompence.’

“ On hearing this, the judge ordered the holy confessor to be scourged

by the executioners, trusting that he might thereby break his constancy ; when words proved unavailing, he being most unjustly tortured bore the same patiently, nay rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. When the judge perceived that he was not to be overcome by tortures, or withdrawn from the exercise of the Christian religion, he ordered his execution. On being led forth, he came to a river which, with a most rapid course, ran between the wall of the town and the arena where he was to be executed. There he beheld a multitude of people of both sexes, and of many ages and conditions, doubtless assembled to attend the blessed confessor and martyr, and these had so occupied the bridge over the river, that he could hardly pass over that evening. In a word, nearly all the town had poured forth, leaving the magistrate unattended in the city. S. Alban, urged by his desire after a speedy martyrdom, approached the stream, and, raising his eyes to heaven, the channel was immediately dried up, and he saw that the water was gone and made way for him to pass. Amongst others the executioner saw this, and moved by divine inspiration, hastened to meet him at the place of execution, and, casting down his sword, fell at his feet, praying that he might rather die with the martyr, or, if possible, in his room. Whilst thus, from a persecutor he was changed into a companion in the Faith, and the other executioners hesitated to take up the sword that was lying on the ground, the reverend confessor, attended by the multitude, ascended a hill, about five hundred paces off, which was adorned with all sorts of flowers. The sides of this hill were not perpendicular, but sloped gently into the beautiful plain, a worthy place to be the scene of a martyr's sufferings. On the top of the hill S. Alban prayed that God would give him water, and immediately a living spring broke out before his feet. . . . The river having performed its holy function, resumed its natural course. Here the head of our most courageous martyr was struck off, and here he received the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love Him. But he who dealt the wicked stroke was not permitted to rejoice over the deceased, for his eyes fell on the ground together with the martyr's head.

"At the same time the soldier was also beheaded who had refused to give the stroke to the holy confessor. Of whom it was apparent, that although he was not regenerated by baptism, yet was he cleansed by the baptism of his own blood, and rendered worthy to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Then the judge, astonished at the novelty of so many miracles, ordered the persecution to cease. The blessed Alban suffered death on the twenty-second day of June, near the city of Verulam, which is now by the English nation called Verlamacestir, or Varlingacestir, where afterwards, when peaceable Christian times were



S. ALBAN.

From the Altar Screen at S. Albans Cathedral.

sixth century. But whether in their original form, as drawn up soon after the martyrdom, if so drawn up, we cannot say, for we cannot be quite certain how many of the statements of Gildas are due to his rhetorical style. The Acts used by Bede were certainly late, for they were already loaded with fable.

We come now to the notice in the Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre, describing the visit made in 429 by Germanus and Lupus to Britain. This is to the effect: "The priests sought the blessed martyr Albanus in order to render thanks by his mediation to God; when Germanus, having with him relics of all the apostles and of different martyrs, offered prayer and commanded the grave to be opened in order to place there the precious gifts." ¹

Now if this passage had stood in the original Life of Germanus by Constantius, it would have been an important testimony. But it did not stand there, it is an interpolation of the first half of the ninth century; it is not found in any of the copies of the unadulterated Life, by Constantius. ²

Gildas is the authority for Alban having suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, and Bede follows him in this.

It has been objected that Eusebius and Lactantius assert that Constantius, the father of Constantine, and to whose share in the Empire Britain fell, took no part in the persecution. ³

But, says Professor Hugh Williams, ⁴ "In his anxiety to exonerate the father of Constantine the Great, Eusebius may be regarded as having gone too far when he said that he destroyed none of the church buildings. Lactantius expressly states that the churches, as mere walls which could be restored, were pulled down by him, but that he kept intact and safe the true temple of God, that is, the human body. It must be remembered that Constantius was only Caesar in the 'parts beyond the Alps,' and that he did not visit Britain until A.D. 306, the year of his death at York. The Caesar's power was limited, which would render the name of Maximian, as a rabid persecutor, especially after the fourth Edict of 304, the more potent name with many governors and magistrates. Constantius was bound to conform to the policy of the Augusti in carrying out edicts which bore his own name

¹ *Vita Germani Autis.*, iii, 25.

² Levison (W.), *Bischof Germanus v. Auxerre*, in *Neue Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, B. xxix, 1903; *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, t. xliii, 1882, p. 556; Narbey, *Étude critique sur la vie de S. Germain d'Auxerre*, Paris, 1884; Baring-Gould, "Life of Germanus," by Constantius, in *Y Cymmrodor*, Lond., 1904.

³ Eus., *H. E.*, viii, 13; *Vita Const.*, i, 13; Lact., *De Morte Pers.*, xv.

⁴ Note in his ed. of *Gildas*, p. 26.

as well as theirs. When, therefore, it is known that many martyrdoms *did* take place in Spain, though that country belonged to Constantius, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Britain had witness of the same sufferings, especially before 306, when he himself arrived in the island."

There is a circumstantiality about Bede's account which shows that he had material on which to build up his florid narrative.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives 286 as the date of the year in which S. Alban suffered, but Bede is more likely to be right in placing it in the persecution of Diocletian. He is followed by Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster, the latter adding flourishes of his own. In addition, we have the *Acta Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali*, by William, a monk of S. Alban's, dedicated to Simon, who was Abbot of that Monastery from 1167 to 1188, but apparently written before Simon was promoted to the Abbacy. William states that his book was merely a translation from an English Life of the Saint.¹

He says that the author concealed his name through fear of the enemy, but wrote what he had seen or heard from others. However, on examination, this *Passio S. Albani* proves to be entirely founded on that of Bede, amplified by a long account of the conversion of S. Alban through the instrumentality of Amphibalus, a priest whom he had protected from the persecutors, and had concealed in his house.

Then follows a detailed account of Alban's conduct before the judge, and of his imprisonment and death, as well as of the escape of Amphibalus.

This is followed by two chapters on the conversion and martyrdom of many of the inhabitants of Verulam, who had fled with Amphibalus to Wales, where he preached the Gospel to the Welsh and Picts. Finally we have the capture and martyrdom of Amphibalus, followed by the signal chastisement of his persecutors.² This took place at Verulam, to which place Amphibalus had been reconducted from Wales.

The author concludes, "Ne vero posterī super meo nomine reddantur omnino solliciti, sciant quia si voluerint verum mihi ponere nomen, me miserum, me peccatorem ultimum nominabunt. Romam autem proficiscor ut illic gentilitatis errore deposito, et lavacro regenerationis adeptus, veniam merear assequi delictorum. Libellum quoque istum offeram examini Romanorum, ut si qua in eo secus quam debuit forte prolata fuerit, hoc per eos dignetur in melius commutare."

¹ "Cum liber Anglico sermone conscriptus passionem martyris Albani continens, ad vestram notitiam pervenisset, ut cum verbis latinis exprimerem præcepitis."

² "Distorquentur labia, varia deformitas vultus apprehendit, obrigescunt digiti, nervi officiis non funguntur; ardent linguæ," etc.

This is sufficient to reveal the whole as an impudent forgery. William, the compiler, actually the fabricator of the *Passio*, pretends that he added nothing to the original except the name of Amphibalus, which he took from Geoffrey of Monmouth (lib. v, cap. 5). This supposed original book which William used was, as we have seen, in the English language. But in Matthew Paris' *Life of Abbot Eadmer* the story is told of a very ancient book in the British tongue having been discovered in a recess of a wall, and of how it was interpreted by one Unwona, an aged monk; and it proved to be a Passion of S. Alban.

The fact would seem to be that the monks of S. Alban's were dissatisfied with the brief story of the death of their Saint, as given by Bede, and set one of their number to compose a fuller story, and, to give credence to it, pretended to have found an ancient book of the Martyrdom composed by an eyewitness, whilst still a pagan.

William had not the wit to make this author write in British, but makes him a Saxon. Matthew Paris knew better. The outline of the story is as in Bede, all the rest is mere invention.

A condensation of William of S. Alban's work is in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, under the heads of "Alban" and "Amphibalus." There is a Saxon *Passio S. Albanis* and a Saxon *Vita S. Albani*, but both are derived from Bede. William of S. Alban's Passion is printed in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun. iv, pp. 149-59. There are other MS. Lives or Passions of S. Alban; Radulph of Dunstable composed a Latin Metrical Life of SS. Alban and Amphibalus. He wrote it at the request of the aforesaid William, who, however, died before its completion.¹ Matthew Paris (1236-53) also wrote a *Vita Sti. Albani*.

None of the Lives are of any historical value. The sole authorities of any worth are Gildas and Bede. But they are instructive for all that. They show the manner in which Lives were amplified, miracles fabricated, and martyrdoms multiplied by late redactors. Thus, although there is no evidence that others suffered with Alban save the executioner,² William of S. Albans makes those sent after Amphibalus slaughter a thousand in Wales, without respect to age or sex. "Ira commoti, sine respectu ætatis, sanguinis aut reverentiæ, vicini vicinos

¹ Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Norman Period, 1846, pp. 212-5.

² Gildas does however add: "Ceteri vero sic diversis cruciatibus torti sunt et inaudita membrorum discerptione lacerati, ut absque cunctamine gloriosi in egregiis Jerusalem veluti portis martyrii sui trophæa defigerent. Nam, qui superfuera silvis ac desertis abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt." But this does not necessarily apply to Britain but to the persecution throughout the Empire.

et amicos neci tradunt ; et atrociter in ore gladii mille viros pro Christo occidunt."

The Legend by John of Tynemouth, taken into Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, is derived partly from Bede, and partly from the Life by William of S. Albans.

In a so-called Martyrology of S. Jerome, in a Berne Codex of about 770, "S. Albinus Martyr" is commemorated on June 22, "along with others, 889 in number." Here we see how a story expands and adopts extravagant details. Bede expressly says that after the death of Alban the persecution ceased in Britain. He represents the magistrate as deterred by the miracles that had taken place ; actually what induced him to stop was probably that he saw that the use of force advanced instead of serving to hinder the cause of Christianity.

Almost all English Calendars have S. Alban on June 22, and he occurs in some of the Welsh Calendars on the same day. He is entered in the Vannes Missals of 1530 and 1535 ; and in the Vannes Breviary of 1589 ; and in the S. Malo Breviary of 1537.

Whytford in his *Martiloge* says, on June 22, "In brytayne ye feest of saint Albane a martyr that in the tyme of ye emperour Dioclecian after many turmets suffred at verolame deth, heded by the sworde and with hym was a soudyour put to deth because he refused to do ye execucyon upon hym." And O'Gorman has inserted him on the same day in his Irish Martyrology. In the Reformed Anglican Calendar on June 17.¹

The Abbey of S. Alban's, as already said, was founded by Offa, the king of the Mercians, in 793. William of Malmesbury says : "The relics of S. Alban, at the time obscurely buried, he ordered to be reverently taken up and placed in a shrine, decorated to the fullest extent of royal munificence with gold and jewels. A Church of most beautiful workmanship was then erected and a company of monks assembled." ²

In Monmouthshire, the church of Christ Church on the height above Caerleon, on the left bank of the Usk, was formerly dedicated to S. Alban. The high ground above the junction of the Afon Lwyd is still called Mount S. Alban.

In Devonshire, Beaworthy Church is dedicated to him.

No church bears his name in Cornwall. He is patron of Tattenhall near Chester ; of a church also in Worcester ; of S. Alban's, Wood

¹ In the *Preces Privatae*, 1564, the *Book of Common Prayer*, 1564, 1573, and 1617 on June 17, but in the latter also on July 29. See Lord Aldenham's paper on S. Alban in the *Transactions of S. Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.*, iv, p. 32.

² *Chron. Reg. Angliæ*, i, 4.

Street, London, founded in the tenth century; Earsdon in Northumberland as under Tynemouth, a priory of S. Alban's Abbey; Wymondham in Norfolk, as well a priory of S. Alban's; Worksop Priory in Nottinghamshire, and Wickersley in Yorkshire; Withernwick in east Yorkshire; Frant in Kent, and perhaps originally Almondbury in Yorkshire. Camden so thinks. In Brittany he is supposed to be patron of several parishes and chapels. This is, however, due to a mistake: he has been confounded with and has superseded S. Albinus, who was a native of the Diocese of Vannes, and became bishop of Angers, and died *circ.* 550.

S. ALLECCUS, or GALLGO, Confessor

ACCORDING to the *Life of Gildas* by the monk of Ruys, Alleccus, or Allectus, was a brother of that saint. He says: "Mailocus, Alleccus and Egreas, with their saintly sister (Peteova), after condemning all the wealth and luxuries of the world, strove with the whole bent of their soul to reach the celestial country, and devoted their lives to fastings and prayers. At last they were called to God, and received the reward of their labours. They were buried in the oratories which they had built, and are preserved there, famous and illustrious for their constant miracles, and destined to rise again in glory."¹

Alleccus, or Allectus, there can be hardly a doubt is the Gallgo, or Gallgof ab Caw, of the Welsh pedigrees,² to whom Llanallgo, a chapel subject to his brother's church, Llaneugrad, in Anglesey, is dedicated.

Gallgo was for a while a saint at Llantwit and Llancarfan.³ He appears to be the Calcas ab Caw who is mentioned in the Tale of Culhwch and Olwen as having been in the service of King Arthur.⁴ Probably, owing to the insults dashed in the face of Maelgwn Gwynedd by Gildas, his brother, Alleccus may have been forced to leave Anglesey, and then perhaps retired to Ireland for a time. Colgan conjectured that he is the saint named Oilleoc in the Irish Martyrologies, but hesitated between him and Elloc, one of the reputed sons of Brychan.⁵

¹ *Gildas*, ed. Hugh Williams, p. 327.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 109, 116, 137, 142-3; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 425.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 101, 116.

⁴ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107; ed. Guest, 1877, p. 224.

⁵ *Acta SS. Hibern.*, Jan. 29, p. 188. The situation of Cluan Etchen, of which Oilleoc was saint, has not been determined.

It is possible that Alleccus may have been with Gildas at an early period in Ireland, till the latter was recalled by the murder of his brother Huail.

The day of S. Gallgo, or Alleccus, is given as November 27 in most of the Welsh Calendars from the fifteenth century¹; also by Nicolas Roscarrock. Oilleoc, or Oileac, of Cluan Etchen, is venerated in the Irish Calendars on July 24.

The Wake at Llanallgo was, however, held on the first Sunday in May.¹ Near the church is Ffynnon Allgo, his holy well. Its waters, which are strongly impregnated with sulphate of lime, were formerly held in high veneration for the cures ascribed to them, and are still, we believe, regarded as highly beneficial in some chronic diseases. Adjoining the west end of the church is Capel y Ffynnon, the Well Chapel, a small edifice anciently appropriated to the use of the votaries of the patron of the spring.²

S. ALLEN, Confessor

S. ALLEN is the name of a parish in Cornwall in the Deanery of Pyder. The name is given in the Exeter Episcopal Registers as Allun or Alun. In that of Bishop Bronescombe, 1261, the church is Ecclesia S^{ti}. Alluni; in that of 1274 Ecclesia de S^{ti}. Aluno; so also in 1274, 1284; in that of B. Bytton, 1302; in the Taxation of Pope Nicolas, 1288-91; in the register of B. Stapeldon, 1314; and in those of B. Grandisson, 1349, and B. Brantyngham, 1376, 1383, 1384, 1392.

Leland (*Itin.*, ii, 77; iii, 2) gives the forms Aleine, Alaine and Alein. It is not possible, with any approach to confidence, to determine who the Saint was who is patron of the parish. He can hardly be Alan, son of Emyr Llydaw.

The Feast at S. Allen is on February 22; but also on the Fifth Sunday after Easter. Whether he be the Elwyn, one of the Irish immigrants who came over with Breaca, may be doubted. See under S. ELWYN.

S. ALMEDHA, see S. EILIWEDD

S. ALUD, see S. EILIWEDD

S. AMAETHLU, see S. MAETHLU

¹ Nicolas Owen, *Hist. Anglesey*, 1775, p. 57; Ang. Llwyd, *Hist. Anglesey*, 1833, p. 215.

² Ang. Llwyd, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

S. AMBROSIUS, Abbot, Confessor

THE Church of Amesbury claimed to have been founded by one Ambrosius, but whether this were an abbot, or whether he were Aurelius Ambrosius who headed the revolt against Gwrtheyrn; whether this latter, after having led the Britons to battle against the Saxons, in his old age became a monk and founded a religious house over which he ruled as abbot at Amesbury, is all uncertain, and never will be cleared up; but the latter supposition is not improbable. Aurelius Ambrosius, or Ambrosius Aurelianus, is the only one of his countrymen against whom the venomous Gildas does not inveigh. "After a certain length of time the cruel robbers returned to their home"—he is speaking of the Saxons. "A remnant, to whom wretched citizens flock from different places on every side, as eagerly as a hive of bees when a storm is threatening, praying at the same time unto Him with their whole heart, and, as is said, 'Burdening the air with unnumbered prayers,' that they should not be utterly destroyed, take up arms and challenge their victors to battle under Ambrosius Aurelianus. He was a man of unassuming character, who alone of the Roman race chanced to survive in the shock of such a storm (as his parents, people undoubtedly clad in the purple, had been killed in it), whose offspring in our days have greatly degenerated from their ancestral nobleness. To these men, by the Lord's favour, there came victory." ¹

In the Welsh Pedigrees, Ambrosius is Emrys Wledig, or as Nennius calls him, Embreis Guletic.

Nennius tells the marvellous tale of Vortigern being unable to lay the foundations of his castle in Gwynedd, and sending to find a boy whose father was unknown in order to sprinkle his blood on the foundations to make them firm. Messengers were sent throughout the Isle of Britain in the quest, and they came to a place in Glywyssing where they heard boys playing at ball, and a dispute having arisen among them, one sneered at the other, "O boy without a father, thou hast no good at all." The messengers asked, "Whose son is the lad to whom this is said?" Those who were playing ball replied: "We know not. His mother is here." The mother of the boy of whom this was spoken said: "I know not that he has a father, nor do I know how he happened to be conceived in my womb."

Then the messengers took the lad to the king, who would have sacrificed him, according to the counsel of his Druids, but he escaped by telling Vortigern that the reason why his foundations gave way was

¹ Gildas, *De Excidio Brit.*, ed. H. Williams, p. 61.

that they were laid in a morass wherein were red and white dragons or maggots in deadly contest.

Then the boy said, "Ambrosius is my name . . . my father was a Roman consul, and this shall be my fortress." Then Vortigern left the castle to Ambrosius, and also the government of all the east of Britain, and went with his Druids to the land of Gwynnwesi, in the north, and built a fortress there, which city is named *Caer Gwrtheyrn*.¹

The fable is foisted in clumsily, and is incoherent. The boy's father is known. Ambrosius knows it, his mother does not. All we can make out of it is that Vortigern seems to have thrown himself on the still strong Pagan element among the Britons, and to have sought the death of Ambrosius, who headed the Romano-British party, and that he was defeated.

The *Caer* of Ambrosius is near *Beddgelert*, and is called *Dinas Emrys*, on a height, and contains foundations of a number of *cytiau*.

After the expulsion of *Gwrtheyrn* from the position of *Pendragon* or chief, Ambrosius assumed it, and obtained considerable success against the Saxons and Jutes.

The Welsh accounts make Ambrosius son of *Cystennin*, whom they derive from *Cynan Meiriadog*,² brother of *Elen*, wife of *Maximus*; and they make *Cystennin* *Gorneu* the brother of *Aldor*, or *Audroen*, father of *Emyr Llydaw*, the ancestor of a noble army of Saints who drifted about between *Armorica* and *South Wales*. They make, moreover, *Emrys*, or *Ambrosius*, brother of *Uthyr Bendragon*, the father of *Arthur*.³

Much confusion has arisen among the *Constantines*. The name seems to have been greatly affected by the Britons or Romanised Britons. There was a *Constantine* who was a common soldier in the Roman army stationed in Britain, who assumed the purple in 407, and was put to death in 409; consequently it is not possible that this can have been the *Constantine*, father of *Ambrosius* and of *Uthyr*. If there be any reliance to be placed on the Welsh pedigrees, much disturbed and vitiated by *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* fabulous narrative—then the father of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* was *Cystennin Llydaw*, or *Bendigaid*, a petty prince of *Armorica*.⁴

¹ *Irish Nennius*, ch. xix; *Latin Nennius*, cc. xl-xlii.

² *Geoffrey's Brut*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 126; the thirteenth century *Mostyn MS.*, 117 (Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i. p. 63).

³ *Geoffrey's Brut*, *ibid.*, p. 126; *Triads* in *Red Book of Hergest in Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 298.

⁴ The Welsh pedigrees attribute to *Maximus* and *Helen* a son named *Constantine*. Perhaps this was the *Tyrannus*.

Professor Hugh Williams sums up all that we can obtain from Gildas concerning Ambrosius Aurelianus. (1) He was a Roman, a member of one of the few old aristocratic families then remaining in Britain. (2) His ancestors had worn the Imperial purple; he may have been a descendant of some tyrannus who had assumed the title of Augustus in Britain. (3) He was a *vir modestus*, which implies kindness of disposition with unassuming manners; the mention of this quality goes far to prove that the information had come to Gildas from some one personally acquainted with the victorious leader. (4) His descendants, grandchildren probably, were intimately known to Gildas.¹

Bede² merely reproduces what was said by Gildas. There is no mention in the pedigrees of Ambrosius having been married and having a family, and it would be in accordance with the character of the man as sketched by Gildas, that in his old age he should become a monk. If so, then he may perhaps be regarded as the traditional founder of Amesbury. Camden, in his *Britannia*, so regards him, and as having died at Amesbury.³

Dr. Guest conjectured that Ambrosius was the father of Owain Finddu, who is usually given as a son of Maxen, and he tries to identify him with the Natan-leod of the Chronicle, who was killed in 508, but the attempt is not successful.

The monastery, according to Camden, contained three hundred monks, and was destroyed by "nescio quis barbarus Gormundus." This Gormund was Gorman, son of Cormac Mac Diarmid, king of the Hy Bairche, who in the middle of the sixth century destroyed Llanbadarn Fawr and other churches, and did much havoc in Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth converted him into a king of Africa.

Nicolas Roscarrock enters him as "S. Ambrias, Abbot, Confessor, founder of Amesbury, which was destroyed by Gormund; there were three hundred monks in the monastery." He does not give the day on which the founder of Amesbury was culted.

¹ *De Excid. Brit.*, p. 60.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, i, c. 16.

³ "Ambresbury, i.e. Ambrosii vicus . . . ubi antiquos quosdam Reges sitos esse historia Britannica docet, et Eulogium ibi trecentorum monachorum cœnobium fuisse refert, quod nescio quis barbarus Gurmundus diripuit . . . Ambrosius Aurelianus qui nomen fecit, Romano imperio jam prope confecto, purpuram, ut P. Diaconus testatur, in Britannia induit, patriæ labenti suppetias tulit, . . . et tandem collatis in hac planitie signis, animam patriæ reddidit." *Britannia*, 1594, p. 186.

S. AMBRUSCA, Virgin

IN Crantock village, Cornwall, according to Dr. Oliver's *Monasticon* (p. 438), a chapel dedicated to S. Ambrusca formerly stood in the churchyard; and an ancient covered well, dedicated to the Saint, existed near the village. The well has been destroyed, and a modern villa called S. Ambrose occupies the site; the water still rises, and is led by a pipe to supply a drinking fountain beside the road. Old people remember the Holy Well in its original position. On the further side of the road is a boggy meadow in the midst of which is the site of the chapel.

Who was S. Ambrusca? Whether Dr. Oliver has given the name correctly, which is by no means certain, as he was not always accurate, we are unable to say. She may have formed one of the company of S. Carantoc. Her name does not occur in any Welsh or Irish or Breton Calendars. The root of the name is *ambhr*, strong.

S. AMO, see S. ANNO**S. AMPHIBALUS, Confessor**

THE authority for the Life of S. Amphibalus is the account of the Martyrdom of S. Alban (*which see*). But Capgrave in his *Nova Legenda Angliæ* gives a separate account of him, extracted from the Vita S. Albani printed in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jun. v, p. 131.

The story has been already given under the heading of S. Alban. Gildas, in *De Excidio Brit.* (c. xi),¹ relates that Alban of Verulam, having given hospitality to a confessor of Christ flying the pursuit of the soldiery, was so touched by the grace of God, that he presented himself before the persecutors in the sacerdotal vestment of the confessor, and suffered martyrdom in his room.

The story in Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, I, vii) is not an amplification of the words of Gildas, but taken from original *Acta*. The vestment in Gildas is *vestes*, in Bede *caracalla*. Till Geoffrey of Monmouth

¹ Ed. Hugh Williams, for the Cymmrodorion Society.

wrote his fabulous history, the name of the confessor was unknown, and this writer conferred on him the name of Amphibalus.¹

William of S. Albans, in his *Life of SS. Alban and Amphibalus*, written between 1166 and 1188, pretends that he made use of a Saxon Life of the two saints, but acknowledges that he was indebted to Geoffrey for the name of Amphibalus.

Amphibalus is, however, the name of a vestment or chasuble, and it has been conjectured that Geoffrey called the Confessor after the habit which he surrendered to Alban. But M. J. Loth² has pointed out another and more probable origin. "It seems to be certain," says he, "that the passage which so lightly led him into error is found in the *Epistle* of Gildas. In that, one reads almost at the beginning, in the *Imprecatio* against Constantine, king of Damnonia, that, among other crimes committed by him, he had done this ; 'in duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ecclesiæ, carnalisque, sub sancti abbatis amphibalo, latera regionum tenerrima puerorum vel præcordia crudeliter duum . . . inter ipsa sacrosancta altaria nefando ense hastaque pro dentibus laceravit.'"

Geoffrey had read the passage above, and the conjecture is changed to certainty when one looks at lib. ix, cap. iv, of his History. There we read : "Et (Constantinus) prædictos filios Modredi cepit : et alterum juvenem Gwintoniæ in ecclesiam sancti Amphibali fugientem ante altare Trucidavit ; alterum vero Londoniis in quarundam fratrum cœnobio absconditum, atque tandem juxta altare inventum crudeli morte afficit."

What Gildas wrote was that Constantine had killed the royal youths under the garb of a holy abbot. Then Geoffrey, mistaking one letter, reading in fact "sancti abbatis Amphibali," for "sancti abbatis amphibalo," converted Amphibalus into a personal name.

Matthew of Westminster (1377) says that "Amphibalus hastened into Wales, to become a martyr there," but his testimony is of no value, and Amphibalus is wholly unknown in Wales.

The day of S. Amphibalus is that of his Translation, June 25. In 1178, a certain Robert Mercer, of Redburn, pretended that he had seen S. Alban in a vision, who pointed out to him the spot where Amphibalus and his companions lay, and told him that the time had come when they should be treated with due honour.

Accordingly a search was made at the spot indicated and the bodies of Amphibalus and nine companions were discovered and translated with great devotion by the Abbot Simon to the church of the monastery.

¹ *Hist. Brit.*, cap. v, 5.

² J. Loth, Saint Amphibalus, in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xi (1890), p. 348.

There can be no doubt entertained that the whole was a fraud. Perhaps Mercer came on an old cemetery at Verulam and invented the dream to explain the discovery.

The story of the transaction is told by Matthew of Paris and Roger Hoveden, and in the *Gesta Abb. S. Albani*. It is an unpleasant revelation of roguery. It followed soon after the invention of the Eleven Thousand Virgins at Cologne and was stimulated by it. In 1155, Gerlach, abbot of Deutz, was excavating an old burial ground, and for eight years went on manufacturing forged tombstones for "Virgins" whose bones he found, and to help out the fraud an hysterical nun, Elizabeth of Schönau, was induced to announce revelations concerning these remains of the dead. She died in 1165, and a greater rogue, the Blessed Hermann Joseph, continued the revelations.

This digging up of relics on a large scale created much excitement, and the Abbot Simon of S. Albans, by the assistance of Mercer, got up an "Invention" of his own.

S. Amphibalus occurs on June 25 in the Additions of the Canterbury Calendar (*Arundell MS.* 155), and in the S. Alban's Calendar of the thirteenth century (*MS. Reg.* 2, B. vi). He is in the *Martiloge* of Whytford, and in the MS. Calendar of Nicolas Roscarrock.

S. AMWN DDU, Confessor

AMWN the Black was a son of Emyr Llydaw, son of Aldor.¹ Amwn quitted the district about Vannes,² which had for some time been colonised by immigrants from Britain. Already in 461 the Britons were settled about the mouth of the Loire. In that year a British bishop, Mansuetus, attended the Council of Tours.³

His see is not mentioned, but he probably came thence, where we find Britons in considerable numbers not much later. In 470 the British colonists under their King Riothimus came to the assistance of the

¹ In the earlier genealogies of the Welsh Saints, e.g., those in the thirteenth century, *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45, and *Hafod MS.* 16 (c. 1400), his name always occurs as Annun Ddu, the Welsh assimilation of Antonius. There was an Annun ab Ceredig, uncle to S. David (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 275). Amwn probably = Ammonius.

² Graweg, for Broweroc, see note 3, p. 155.

³ Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, tom. iv, p. 1053.

Emperor Anthemius, and after ascending the Loire in their vessels, were attacked by Euric at Bourg-en-Deols, near Châteauroux, and utterly defeated.¹

Sidonius Apollinaris also represents the Britons as settled about the mouths of the Loire.²

Now if British settlers were able to send a large army against the Visigoths in or about 470, we may well allow them some fifty years to have been settled in a portion of lower Brittany. Others arrived later in greater numbers, flying from the swords of the Saxons, but the colonisation of Armorica by the Britons had begun earlier.

We know nothing of the causes which drove Emyr Llydaw out of Armorica; he fled to Wales, where his sons married daughters of Meurig, king of Morganwg, or Glamorgan. We may place the period when Emyr fled with his family in the latter part of the fifth century.

Samson, bishop of Dol, died 567-70, and was probably born about 490-500. He was son to Amwn the Black, and is represented as the child of his old age.

Amwn married Anna, daughter of Meurig, and he is said to have enjoyed the friendship of S. Dyfrig as well as of S. Illtyd. Amwn was not disposed at first to suffer his son Samson to become a religious, but the inclination of the lad was so decided in this direction that he had to yield, and being away from his own possessions, the ecclesiastical life was that which offered most promise to a young man.

Samson became a member of the congregation of S. Illtyd at Llan-twit Major, and of S. Dyfrig at Ynys Byr. Whilst there he heard that his father was seriously ill, and desired his son to visit him. Samson, through a perverted idea that he had broken with all family ties, at first resolved to disregard the summons, but was reprimanded by Pirus, or Piro, the abbot, and reluctantly consented to go.

On his arrival he found the sick man with his relatives crowded round his bed;³ Samson turned them all out, with the exception of his mother Anna, and the deacon he had brought with him. He then urged his father to make confession of his misdeeds. Whereupon Amwn, in the presence of these three,⁴ revealed a mortal sin he had committed, and which he had kept secret from his wife and from others.

Then yielding to the solicitations of Anna, he vowed to dedicate the rest of his days to God, and to have his head shaved. Anna, with the

¹ Jornandes, *De rebus Geticis*, c. 45.

² *Epist.*, i. 7.

³ "Invenerunt Ammonem, Sancti Samsonis patrem, a suis vicinis circumdatum in lecto ægotantem." Vita 1^{ma}, in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., t. vi, p. 580.

⁴ "Præsentibus illis tribus supradictis quod in se celaverat publicavit in medium." *Ibid.*

impetuosity of a woman, and without consideration of consequences, said : " Do not let us be alone, let us dedicate at the same time all our children and our estate to God."

Thereupon she presented to Samson his five brothers and a young sister. Samson accepted them all except the girl. " She," said he, " will hanker after worldly pleasures, and I reject her. However, as she is a human being, rear her up."¹

At the same time Samson's uncle and aunt, Umbrafel and Dervella, embraced the religious life, together with their three sons. He then took his uncle and father with him to Ynys Byr, that he might supervise their religious training.

When some Irish monks came to the monastery on their way back from Rome, Samson was induced to go with them to Ireland, but he did not remain there long. He, however, founded a monastery there. When he returned to Wales he found that his father and uncle had made some progress, but Umbrafel was the most hopeful of the two. He accordingly sent him to Ireland to be abbot over his monastery, but took his father with him into retreat in a wild district near the Severn.

On leaving this retreat with the ultimate intention of settling in Armorica, Samson crossed the sea, probably to Padstow Harbour, and proceeding south-east formed an important settlement at Southill. He had his father still with him.

When he considered the political conditions in Armorica ripe for organising a revolt against the regent Conmore, in 547 or thereabouts, Samson crossed over. Amwn must at this time have been still with him, for we are told that Samson left him in charge of his monastery,² which we locate at Southill.

We hear nothing further of Amwn, save that he was buried at Llantwit Major, where he was, for a while, a member of S. Illtyd's " choir."³

Probably he had found the government of a monastery beyond his powers, at an advanced age ; and he left Southill to sink into a simple monk again ; he is, however, said to have had a " choir " of his own as well, a cell of S. Illtyd's, but this may refer to the establishment at Southill.⁴

¹ " *Ista pusilla quam vos videtis et habetis ad mundanas voluptates data est ; tamen nutrite eam, quia homo est.*" Vita 1^{ma}, in *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul., t. vi, p. 580.

² " *Monasterii illius perfecte constructi suo patri præsulatum præcipit,*" etc. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 132, 141. He is spoken of as having been " King of Grawec," probably Broweroc, the British settlement about Vannes.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 151.

In Brittany, near Vannes, precisely in the district of Broweroc whence Amwn possibly came, at Plescop (Plou-escop), a certain Amon, receives a cult. The story there told is that Amon arrived at Plescop from foreign parts and solicited shelter and food. As he was refused even milk, he cursed the place, that thenceforth the cows should yield none. Next morning he was found dead in some bushes. A chapel was erected over his grave, and his relics were translated in 1456.¹

According to Garaby,² his day is April 30, but at Plescop, the Pardon de S. Amon is on the last Sunday in October. In the chapel, which is only just outside the village, is a statue of the Saint, of the eighteenth century, and he is represented as a warrior. An oak carved bust of him is also preserved there, that contains the upper portion of his skull, which is dolichocephalous, and perfectly black. This was formerly carried in procession on the day of the Pardon, on a bier, but at the Revolution the papers authenticating the relic were lost or destroyed; consequently it is no more carried nor exposed to the veneration of the people, although there can be no moral doubt as to it being the genuine relic translated in 1456. The bust is much in character like the statue, and both were probably carved by the same man.

As no authentic life or legend of S. Amon exists, the period at which he lived and died is open to conjecture. Garaby supposes he was a returned Crusader. But this was the merest guess. The peasants of Plescop know nothing relative to the period when Amon came among them. Ogée says: "In 1456, the inhabitants of this parish found the body of Saint Humon, a Breton knight, hidden among the bushes. It was elevated with great solemnity and a chapel was built on the spot in his honour."³ But there is nothing known of such a knight, and Ogée seems to have mistaken the translation of the body and the erection of the chapel for the date of the death of Amon. It is just possible that Amwn Ddu may have left his charge of Samson's monastery in Cornwall to return to his native land. And this conjecture receives some confirmation from the fact that he has received no cult in Cornwall. He came apparently from Broweroc, the neighbourhood of Vannes, and it is probable, if he returned to Brittany, that he would seek that part whence he had been driven when young. If so, then it is conceivable also that the people, having known him only as a warrior, and not as a monk, when he died among them, represented him as a man of war.

¹ Le Mené, *Hist. des Paroisses de Vannes*, 1894, tom. ii, p. 101.

² *Vies des Bienheureux et des Saints de Bretagne*, S. Briec, 1839, p. 106.

³ Ogée, *Dict. historique et géographique de Bretagne*, ed. Rennes, 1843, ii, p. 292.

As to the story of the stranger having been refused milk, and cursing Plescop, that is a mere piece of popular invention to account for the fact that the pasturage of the parish is unsuitable for milch kine. From the popular tradition nothing further can be concluded than that a certain man named Amon came from foreign parts and died there almost immediately after his arrival, and that at an uncertain date.

S. ANDRAS, Confessor

HE lived in the fifth century, and was the son of S. Rhain Dremrudd ab Brychan Brycheiniog.¹

Llanandras, in the Diocese of Llandaff, is said to be dedicated to him. This, to-day, is the parish church of S. Andrew Major, in the Deanery of Penarth. Llanandras is also the Welsh name for Presteigne, in the County of Radnor and Diocese of Hereford, the parish church of which is now regarded as dedicated to the Apostle. Probably both are dedicated to the Apostle, whose name in Welsh takes the form Andreas.

S. ANEF, or ANE, Hermit

HE was one of the sons of Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, in the North, who, not being able to withstand the constant incursions of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, was obliged to leave his territory, and come with his numerous family, most of whom embraced the religious life, to Anglesey, where they settled on lands given them by Cadwallon Lawhir and Maelgwn Gwynedd. This was about the beginning of the sixth century. He is said to have been a hermit in Anglesey, and to him is dedicated the chapel of Coedana (Coed-aneu, or -ane) in that county, now subject to

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 121, 140.

Llangwyllog.¹ Sometimes it is said to be dedicated to S. Blenwyd, or Blenwydd, another son of Caw.²

If he be the same as Angawd, son of Caw, he was at one time in the service of Arthur, according to the tale of Culhwch and Olwen.³

The Angar of the "Sayings of the Wise" may also possibly mean the same person :

Hast thou heard the saying of Angar,
Son of Caw, the celebrated warrior?
"The heart will break with grief."⁴
(Bid tonn calon gan alar.)

Another brother, S. Ceidio, is patron of Rhodygeidio (Rhodwydd Geidio), under Llanerchymedd, in the same neighbourhood.

S. Ane's Festival does not occur in any of the Welsh Calendars, but Miss Angharad Llwyd, in her *History of Anglesey*, gives it as January 13.⁵

S. ANEURIN, Abbot, Confessor

ANEURIN, the son of Caw, was one of a large family. The numbers vary in the several genealogies, the lowest being ten and the highest twenty-one. There are in the *Iolo MSS.*⁶ eight lists of the sons of Caw. Aneurin's name does not occur in all of them, but there are reasons for identifying it with another name included, that of Gildas. In these lists, when Aneurin occurs Gildas does not, except in one instance,⁷ where we have both names. The epithet "y Coed Aur" (of the Golden Wood) is sometimes added after both Aneurin and Gildas. We are expressly told⁸ that Euryn y Coed Aur was another name for Gildas, who was also called Gildas the Saint and Gildas the Prophet; and we also find Euryn and Aneurin identified.⁹ So the

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417, 420-1. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 137.

² Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 282. Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 39. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, s.v. Coedanna.

³ *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 107. ⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256.

⁵ P. 194 (1833).

⁶ Pp. 109, 116, 136, 142-3.

⁷ P. 143.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 137. There was also an Euryn y Coed Helig, one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glannog, *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

identity of Aneurin with Gildas may be taken as established.¹ Probably, as has been suggested, Gildas was his "ecclesiastical appellation" when he became a "saint," that is, a monk, the name being regarded as an English rendering of his earlier name Euryn or Aneurin.² Gildas has certainly not the appearance of a Welsh name. Neither Gildas nor Aneurin is included in the Genealogies of the Saints printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*.

Some Welsh writers have identified Aneurin-Gildas with Aneurin "the Chief of Bards" (Mechdeyrn Beirdd) and author of those very obscure poems the *Gododin* and the three *Gorchans* (also Gododinian), which bear his name, and are to be found in the thirteenth century MS., the *Book of Aneurin*, now in the Cardiff Free Library. Stephens, in his posthumous edition of the *Gododin*, while rejecting the identification of the two Aneurins, tries to make out,³ but unsuccessfully we believe, that the bard was the son of Gildas. This he thought would "remove all the chronological difficulties which beset the authorship of the *Gododin*."

There is nothing really known about Aneurin the Bard beyond what may be gleaned from his own writings, which is very little. We are not given the slightest clue there as to his parentage; and the poems do not appear to contain any reference whatever to either Caw or his sons. Caw was lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, which seems to have been modern Renfrewshire. He was driven out of his territory by the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Pictish Goidels, and he and his family found an asylum in Wales. Some of them remained with their father in North Wales, where they were given lands at Twr Celyn in Anglesey by Maelgwn Gwynedd, whilst the rest made for South Wales, where we are told they were granted lands by King Arthur, and became saints in the various Bangors there. Aneurin became a saint of Catwg's Bangor at Llancarfan, with which, as we learn from his Lives, Gildas was connected.

We know that Gildas died in 570, having been born probably in 476, or, as some suppose it, 493. Maelgwn Gwynedd, who is generally supposed to have died in 547, was venomously attacked by him *circa* 540. The chronological position of Aneurin-Gildas in the Genealogies fixes him as belonging to this same period, which is too early for

¹ Iolo Morganwg, in a note in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 270, identified them. On pp. 83, 118, 254, S. Cenydd, the son of Gildas, is said to be the son of Aneurin.

² *Eurin* (from *aur*, gold), meaning "golden"; and the *An-* of Aneurin would here be an intensive (equivalent to *en-*), and not, as more commonly, a negative prefix. Gildas is to be referred to *gild*, derived from *gold*.

³ P. 9. Edited for the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion by Prof. Powel, 1888.

identification with Aneurin the Bard. The *Gododin* describes the Battle of Catraeth, which Stephens takes to have been that of Aegsanstane or Daegstan, which took place in 600 or 603.¹ Skene, however, would divide the poem into two, the first part alone relating to the battle of Catraeth, which he identifies with the "bellum Mithorurum" of Adamnan, and gives 586-603 as its date. The second part contains an allusion to the death of Dyfnwal Frych or Domnall Brecc, king of the Dalriadic Scots, who was slain at the Battle of Strathcarron in 642, and which the bard witnessed. He regards this second part as a continuation of the original *Gododin* by a pseudo-Aneurin.² Out of the 363 "golden-torqued warriors" that fought at Catraeth only three escaped with their lives, says the author, besides himself.

The Welsh Triads state that Aneurin the Bard was treacherously killed by Eiddyn ab Einygan, who dealt him on the head one of "the three atrocious axe-strokes of the Isle of Britain";³ whereas Aneurin-Gildas died in his bed at Ruys in Brittany.

We therefore conclude that Aneurin ab Caw and Gildas ab Caw are one and the same person; but that Aneurin the Bard, of whose pedigree the Welsh know nothing, lived considerably later.

There are no churches dedicated to him under the name Aneurin.

See further under S. GILDAS.

S. ANNA, or ANNE, Widow, Abbess

THERE are four Annas mentioned in the Welsh pedigrees:—(1) Anna, daughter of Uthyr Bendragon. (2) Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig. (3) Anna, daughter of Vortimer the Blessed. (4) Anna, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog.⁴

Some authorities make Anna, daughter of Uthyr Bendragon, to have been the mother of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, and afterwards wife of Amwn Ddu, and mother of S. Samson. Another makes her wife first to Amwn and then to Cynyr.⁵

¹ *Gododin*, p. 42.

² *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, pp. 359-70.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 463; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 390, 405.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140. This Anna must be a scribe's blunder.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 423; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 141. She is also, on the same page, said to have been the mother of S. David.

Another, again,¹ makes Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, the wife of Amwn, and the same says that the wife of Cynyr was Anna, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid, or Vortimer.²

The Life of S. Samson says only that Anna, the wife of Amwn, was "of the province of Dementia (*al.* Deventia) which adjoins that of Demetia." The *Vita* 2^{4a} (of S. Samson) says "de Vœnetia provincia," and the *Vita* 3^{4a} gives this name as "Methiana."

It is clear that there has been confusion between three Annas, and that Cynyr's father married Anna, daughter of Uthyr, and that Cynyr married another Anna, daughter of Vortimer. Whereas Amwn married a different Anna, the daughter of Meurig, and some of her sisters were the wives of the brothers of Amwn.

What we know of the second Anne is derived from the lives of S. Samson, and our best authority is the First Life, written in the seventh century, published by Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti.*, Sæc., i, p. 165), and by the Bollandists (July 6). Afrella was a younger sister, and was married to Umbrifel, brother of Amwn the Black. She was the mother of three sons, born before Anne had any child. Amwn and his wife were in sore trouble at being without offspring. But one day, when in church, they heard a discourse upon the merits and powers of a certain scholar (*librarius*) in the North, to whom great numbers resorted. So Amwn and his wife started to consult him, with presents in their hands, just as now Hindoos might journey to some famous fakir. After a toilsome bit of travel they reached the place where the renowned man was, and found him in the midst of a throng of suppliants, some deriving healing, some requiring discovery of objects that had been lost, some benedictions on a new undertaking, some a forcible curse pronounced against an enemy. They told the great man that they desired to have a son, whereupon the "Librarius" advised Amwn to make a rod of silver as tall as his wife, and give it as alms for his soul and for that of Anna. Amwn promptly declared that he would give three such rods. The medicine man then bade them retire into his "hospitium." These rods of metal of a man's height meet us again in the legend of S. Brioc; and should apparently be brought into connection with the stones, each set up *pro anima sua*, which are found in Celtic countries.

In course of time Anne bore a son, and he was named Samson. From his birth, Anne urged her husband to dedicate him to the Lord—at least so says the "Life"—but this seems to be an adaptation of the story of Hannah and the child Samuel. Amwn was unwilling to

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

consent. Having got a son, he resolved on keeping him, but his reluctance was overcome when other children followed.

That Samson was a child of their old age is improbable; the statement is an importation from the history of the birth of the Biblical Samson. For his education, Samson was entrusted to S. Illtyd, and he remained at college till Amwn was very ill, and sent for his son.

Amwn recovered, and at the instigation of Samson both he and his brother Umbrifel were tonsured; and their respective wives, Anna and Afrella, received consecration as widows. Samson then dismissed the two latter into different parts to found monasteries and to build churches.

His mother was especially fervent in accepting his commission. She is reported to have answered: "Not only do I desire, and lovingly embrace the charge laid on me, but I require of Almighty God, to Whom you have dedicated me, that you shall consecrate the monasteries and churches you bid me construct."

To this Samson cheerfully consented. As to his father and uncle, he found them a little rough and intractable, therefore he took them away with him, so as to superintend their training.

Samson next determined on seeking "a vast desert" near the Severn. There he remained awhile, till he was consecrated bishop, when he resolved on quitting Wales. He took his course round the Bristol Channel,¹ visiting his mother and aunt on the way and dedicating their churches. That of S. Anne was probably Oxenhall, on a confluent of the Severn. It is now in Gloucestershire. We know nothing further about Anne, whether she ended her days in her native land, or followed her son into Cornwall, and further into Brittany. Nor have we any means of determining the day of commemoration of S. Anne.

The cult of Anne, reputed mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary, came into fashion at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was almost unknown till the fifteenth century, when she was brought into prominence by the mooted doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The name Anne is taken from an Apocryphal Gospel, the Protevangelium of S. James, of no authority whatever. The earliest known representation of S. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin, in Northern Europe, is on a seal of 1351 belonging to a convent in Westphalia.²

¹ "Citra Sabrinum mare," *Vita* 1^{ma}; "circa Habrinum mare," *Vita* 2^{da}.

² Vincens (Ch.), *De l'iconographie de S. Anne*, Paris, Chaix, 1892. Schmitz, "Die Anna-Bilder," in *der Katholik*, tome vii (1893). Schaumkell (E.), *Der Cult der H. Anna*, Freiburg-im-Baden, Mohr, 1893; *Acta SS.*, Jul., tome vii, pp. 233-9.

The cult of this S. Anne was at first confined to the east. The first mention of her outside of Syria and Jerusalem is at Constantinople, where, according to Procopius,¹ in the middle of the sixth century, Justinian erected a church in her honour. This was restored by Justinian II a century and a half later.²

The earliest trace of her cult in Rome is in a fresco in the Capella Palatina, supposed by Mr. G. J. Turner to have been placed there by Pope Constantine, a Syrian by birth, after a visit made to Constantinople in 709.³

At the close of the ninth century appeared an Encomium on SS. Joachim and Anna, from the pen of Cosmas Vestitor. George of Nicomedia spoke her praises, so did Peter of Argos.

The first occurrence of S. Anne in a liturgical document is in a tenth century Sacramentary, "undoubtedly of Roman origin, and was probably written for some Greek monks in Rome; in its Holy Saturday litany the first two names after the confessors are S. Anne and S. Elizabeth, who have precedence even before all the Roman virgin martyrs."⁴

But the veneration of S. Anne, thus introduced, was confined to Rome. In or about 800, however, her body was supposed to have been discovered in a cave at Apt, and the elevation took place in the presence of Charlemagne.

No trace of any cult can be found in England till the marriage of our Richard II with Anne of Bohemia, when the name spread, and by a rescript of Pope Urban VI, dated June 21, 1381, the veneration of the Mother of Our Lady was ordered to be introduced; the command was forwarded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the bishops under his metropolitan jurisdiction.⁵ S. Anne is, however, found inserted in the Exeter Martyrology of 1337, drawn up by Bishop Grandisson, the friend of John XXII. Whilst staying with the Pope at Avignon, he had doubtless heard of the devotion to her relics at Apt, near by.

After 1381 S. Anne became a popular saint, and churches having earlier dedications were rededicated to her in the fifteenth century. And thenceforth her name appears in Calendars, previously it was conspicuously absent from them.

Among hymns in honour of S. Anne none date from an earlier period

¹ *De ædificiis Justiniani*, i, 3; iii, 185; in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, Bonn, 1838.

² *Bandurius, Imperium Occidentale*, ii, 656-7; Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. IV, vii, 4, p. 143.

³ "The Introduction of the Cultus of S. Anne into the West," in *The English Historical Review*, xviii (1903), pp. 109-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵ B. Brantyngham's *Register*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, 1901, p. 407.

than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In France there was a Brotherhood of S. Anne in the thirteenth century.

Nevertheless there was no great extension of the cult till the period just before the Reformation. Trithemius in his work, *De Laudibus S. Annæ*, which appeared in 1494, speaks of her memory as *diu neglecta*. Valerius Anselm, in his *Chronicle*, under the year 1508 says that till about that date Anne was little thought about; and Trithemius speaks of the cult as *quasi novum*. Luther in his violent fashion exclaimed, "How old is this idol, S. Anne? Where was she till some ten, twelve, forty years ago?" and again, "We Germans have been always inventing new saints and helpers in need, as is the case of SS. Anne and Joachim, novelties not over thirty years old."¹

The day of S. Anne, mother of the B.V.M., is July 26.

At Whitstone in Cornwall, where there is not only a church, but also a Holy Well of S. Anne, the parish feast is on Easter Day. The way in which S. Anne in Brittany has stepped into the place of one of the Bonæ Deæ, tutelary earth goddesses, and themselves representing the Celtic or pre-Celtic Ane, mother of the gods,² may be judged from the illustrations we give. The first represents a statue of a Bona Dea of the Gallo-Romano period found at Rennes; the second is an image above the Porte S. Malo at Dinan, representing S. Anne, bearing on one arm the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the other Christ.

The genealogies of Coel Godebrog,³ of Rhodri the Great,⁴ king of all Wales, consequently of all the royal families of Gwynedd, Powys and Dyfed, also of S. Beuno,⁵ S. David,⁶ and S. Catwg,⁷ are traced

¹ Schaumkell, *Der Cult d. H. Anna*, 1893.

² Cormac (b. 831, d. 903). "Ana is mater deorum hibernensium, well she used to nourish the gods, from whose name is said anae, i.e. abundance, and from whose name are called the Two Paps of Ana, west of Luchair (County Kerry), also Bu-anann, nurse of the heroes . . . as Ann was mother of the gods, so Bu-anann was mother of the Fiann." W. Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, pp. xxxiii, 2, 5.

³ *Harl. MS.* 3859. A genealogy drawn up in the tenth century, but the MS. of late eleventh or early twelfth century.

⁴ *Ibid.* The genealogy is traced up to Aballac, the son of Amalech, "qui fuit Beli Magni filius et Anna mater ejus quam dicunt esse consobrina Maris Virginis Matris D'ni n'ri I'h'u Xp'i." *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 170.

⁵ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 21. Traced to "Belinus the son of Anna, who was cousin to the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ."

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 144. Traced to a "son of the sister of Mary."

⁷ *Jesus Coll.*, Oxford, MS. 20, early fifteenth century. S. Catwg's pedigree is traced back to Caswallon "the son of Beli the Great, the son of Anna. This Anna was a daughter of a Roman Emperor, and said by the men of Egypt to have been first cousin to the Virgin Mary." In the *Cognatio* of Brychan Brycheiniog, his mother's ancestry is traced up to a certain "Annhun rex Grecorum" (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 273). In the above noted *Jesus Coll.* MS. 20, he appears as "Anwn du vrenhin groec." (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii, p. 83.)

Anna, sister or cousin of the Blessed Virgin. This is none other than the Great Earth Mother ; in the same way the Anglo-Saxons derived their ancestry from Wuotan, and the Norse kings from Odin, and the kings of Rome from Mars.

The great expansion given to the cult of S. Anne in Brittany is due to the discovery of the Conception and to a religious speculation. In 1625, whilst digging a field at Keranna, in the parish of Plunevet, in Morbihan, a peasant named Yves Nicolayic turned up out of the ground a statue, which he took to be a Bona Dea of the pagan Armoricans, numbers of which he found of late years, and, knowing nothing of the pre-Christian history of the early Armoricans, he rushed to the conclusion that it was the image of S. Anne.

The Carmelites, who had been zealous advocates of the cult of the Virgin Our Lady, saw their opportunity and promptly seized on the discovery.

In 1627 they had constructed a chapel for the image, and had attracted pilgrimages to it, which met with great success. The image was destroyed at the Revolution, but the pilgrimages continue, and S. Anne is still esteemed the patroness of the Bretons.

The feast of S. Anne occurs, as already said, in no early calendars. The first admission in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the day being July 26 ; this was ordered to be observed by Gregory XIII in 1584. At Oxenhall, already mentioned, Oxenhall, on a stream flowing into the River Sever, in Gloucestershire, is dedicated to S. Anne, and is the only church in England having that dedication that can by any probability be supposed to be the original of the mother of S. Samson.

A church near Bristol, is also dedicated to S. Anne.

S. ANNO, or AMO

The name of the saint's name occurs only in the alphabetical catalogue of the saints in the *Myvyrian Archæology*.¹ It is there given as

whether a male or female Saint we are not told. Two churches are mentioned as being dedicated to the Saint. One is Llanbadnorn, in Radnorshire, which is to-day usually called Llananno. It is Llanbadarn Fynydd, and is sometimes said to be dedicated to the saintly S. Wonno. The other church mentioned is " Rhosyr," that is, Newborough, in Anglesey, called Llanamo in a MS.

¹ P. 418.

belonging to Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt ; but it is added, " Llananno is the name in the neighbourhood." The Saint is classed by Rees among those of uncertain date.¹ The Festival of S. Anno, May 20, is entered in the calendars in the *Iolo MSS.* and Peniarth MS. 187, and in some calendars of the eighteenth century.

S. ANNUN, or ANHUN, Virgin

ANNUN, or Anhun, lived in the fifth century, and was the handmaid (*llawforwyn*) of S. Madrun, daughter of Gwrthefyr Fendigaid, or Vortimer, and wife of Ynyr Gwent.² In the *Iolo MSS.* her name is misspelt Annan.³

In conjunction with her mistress she is said ⁴ to have founded the church of Trawsfynydd, in Merionethshire. The following is the legend told about its foundation. Madrun, accompanied by her maid Anhun, was making a pilgrimage to Bardsey, and reaching the place now called Trawsfynydd at dusk, very tired, rested themselves for the night under shelter of a thicket. In their sleep they both dreamt that they heard a voice calling to them, " Adeiledwch Eglwys yma " (Build here a church). In the morning when they awoke, the one told her dream to the other, and they were greatly astonished to find that they had both dreamt the same dream. They, thereupon, in obedience to the supernatural command, built the church, which was afterwards dedicated in their honour.⁵

Browne Willis,⁶ however, gives the church of Trawsfynydd as dedicated to S. Madrun alone, with festival on June 9.

Annun, or Anhun, was also a man's name. The name is derived from Antonius or Antonia.

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 306.

² *Hafod MS.* 16, *Peniarth MS.* 76 (sixteenth century), *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 428.

³ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 164.

⁴ *Enwogion Cymru*, p. 25 (Liverpool, 1870).

⁵ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 277.

⁶ P. 145.

S. ANNUN DDU, see S. AMWN DDU

S. ARANWEN, Matron

S. ARANWEN was one of the numerous daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog.¹ Rees² thinks that she was probably a granddaughter of his. She was the wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, son of Tegonwy ab Teon, of the line of Beli Mawr, King of Britain.³ Iorwerth is, in the Vespasian *Cognation*, said to have been "King of Powys, thence called Iorwerthion." S. Aranwen is said to have been mother of Caenog Mawr,⁴ from whom are supposed to be derived the parish name Clocaenog, and Caenog and Esgyn Gaenog in Gwyddelwern, in the county of Denbigh; but this is not correct. Caenog was her brother-in-law.⁵ There are no churches dedicated to her, nor does her name appear in the Calendars.

S. ARDDUN BENASGELL, Matron

S. ARDDUN, who usually bears the epithet Penasgell, that is, "Wing-headed," lived in the sixth century, and was a daughter of S. Pabo Post Prydain (or rather, Prydyn, "Pictland"), a king in the North, who, on losing his territory in wars with the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Goidelic Picts, retired to Wales, where he was well received by Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg, Prince of Powys, from whom, as well as from his son Brochwel Ysgythrog, he received grants of land. Arddun had as brothers SS. Dunawd and Sawyl Benisel. She married Brochwel Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys, to whom she bore, among other children, S. Tyssilio. She is included in late catalogues only of the Welsh Saints.⁶

¹ *Cognatio* in Cott. Vesp. A. xiv, and Cott. Dom. i; Jesus Coll. MS. 20; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 121, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417, 419. In the Domitian *Cogn.* she is entered as "Arganwen apud Powis," and in the Jesus MS. as "Wrgrgen (*sic*) gwreic Ioroerth hirblant."

² *Welsh Saints*, p. 146.

³ Pedigrees in *Mostyn MS.* 117 (thirteenth century).

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 417.

⁵ *Mostyn MS.*, already referred to.

⁶ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 109, 126; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417, 431.

but no churches are attached to her name, though the *Cambrian Biography*¹ says "some Welsh churches are dedicated to her." Dolard-dun, an old manor house in the parish of Castle Caereinion, Montgomeryshire, is believed to be called after her.² There was another Arddun, the wife of Cadgor ab Gorslwyn, and also a Ceindrych "Benasgell." But, indeed, other women in all ages have a claim to be called wingheaded or flighty.

S. ARIANELL, Virgin

ARIANELL, or Arganhell, was a daughter of Guidgentivai, a man of royal family, probably in Gwent; she was possessed by an evil spirit, in other words, was deranged. She had to be kept in bonds to be preserved from throwing herself into the river or into the fire, and from biting and tearing her clothes and all about her.

The father appealed to S. Dubricius, who cast forth the evil spirit and restored the girl to soundness in the presence of her father and relatives. When thus recovered, she devoted herself to religion under the supervision of the saint, and remained a virgin consecrated to God until her death.³

There was a stream of the name that had its rise in S. Maughan's parish, Monmouthshire, and is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as forming the bounds on one side of the territory of Lann Tipallai, which the editors of the *Book of Llan Dâv* suppose to be the Parsonage Farm, west of S. Maughan.⁴ But the grant made was to Dubricius by Britcon Hail,⁵ and no mention is made in it of the damsel Arganhell, so that we cannot be sure that this was the site of the place of monastic retreat of the saintly maiden. The stream Arganhell is apparently that which rises near Newcastle (Castell Meirch) and runs nearly due west to east, keeping north of S. Maughan's Church, and empties into the Monnow. It has lost its ancient name. The other brook that flows into the Trothy passing through Hendre Park retains its name, Bawddwr.

¹ P. 11 (1803).

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 417.

³ "Quae in tantum vexabatur quod vix funibus cum ligatis manibus poterat retineri quin mergeretur flumine quin comburetur igne, quin consumeret omnia sibi adherentia dentibus." *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 82-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 372; cf. p. 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

S. ARIANWEN, see S. ARANWEN

S. ARILDA, Virgin, Martyr

THIS Saint is noticed in a Martyrology in the British Museum, A.D. 1220-4, MS. Reg. A. xiii, as honoured at Gloucester Abbey. In an old poem on this Abbey, printed at the end of Hearne's edition of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, are these lines :—

Thes wonderfull workes wrought by power divine,
Be not hid, nor palliat, but flourish daylie
Witness hereof is Arilde that blessed Virgin
Which martyrizd at Kinton nigh Thornebury,
Hither was translated, and in this monastery
Comprised, and did miracles many one,
As whosoe list to looke may find in hir Legion.

Unhappily her "Legion" is lost.

The place of her martyrdom was Kington by Thornbury in Gloucestershire. Both the period to which she belonged and the stock, whether English or British, are unknown.

Whytford gives as her day, July 20. "In englonde at glocester the feest of saynt Aryld a virgyn and martyr."

S. ARTHEN, Confessor

S. ARTHEN, or Arthan, was one of the sons of Brychan Brycheiniog, and his name in the *Cognatio* and most lists occurs as the fourth son.¹ In the Domitian *Cognatio* he is entered, "Arthen qui erat pater Kynon qui est in Manan." There was a church once dedicated to him in Gwynllywg, but "was destroyed by the Pagan English," and he was buried in "Manaw."² This church was no doubt the extinct Llanarthen, near Marshfield, Monmouthshire. Rhiw Arthen, near Aberystwyth, is supposed to have been called after him, but with greater probability after Arthen (or Arthgen), "King of Ceredigion," who died in 807.³

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417, 419.

² See the same references. Nicolas Roscarrock says that he was a saint in the Isle of Man; this was due to his supposing that Manaw stood for that island, but there was a Manaw Gododin in North Britain.

³ *Annales Cambriae*, p. 11.

Possibly his name is perpetuated in the Brecknockshire hill-name Cefn Arthen, within his father's territory. As to his name, the vocable *arthan* (common gender) means a bear's whelp, *arthen* being the feminine form of the same. His name under the form Arthan occurs in one list only.

S. ARTHFODDW, Confessor

ARTHBODU, *hodie* Arthfoddw, was one of the disciples of S. Dyfrig at Hentland, and may be also at Mochros, or Moccas, in Herefordshire.¹ He was the founder of Lann Arthbodu, in Gower, possibly the Penard (S. Mary) of to-day.² It was merely a cell. There was an Artbodgu, the son of Bodgu, who in the old Welsh genealogies of Harleian MS. 3859 is given as fifth in descent from Cunedda Wledig.³

S. ARTHMAEL, or ARTHFAEL, Abbot, Confessor

ON the Cross at Llantwit is the inscription testifying that Samson the Abbot made the cross for his own soul and for those of Iuthael the king and Artmail or Arthmael. It has been supposed that the cross is of later date than the sixth century, and that it was not erected by S. Samson to the memory of King Iuthael and his companion Arthmael, but at a time posterior, and that the Iuthael and Arthmael thereon named belonged to this later date, and to the house of Morganwg; moreover the style of decoration supports this view. The coincidence of names at two periods is remarkable, for S. Samson's great work was the restoration of the princely line in Domnonia, the placing of Iuthael on the throne in 555, and Arthmael was his great helper in the work.

The authorities for the Life of S. Arthmael are these:—The Lections in the Breviary of Rennes, fifteenth cent., that of Léon, 1516, the Breviary of S. Malo, 1537, and that of Vannes, 1589. The original in the

¹ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144; Col. Morgan, *Antiquarian Survey of East Gower*, 1899, p. 202.

³ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 181.

Breviary of Léon, 1516, exists in a copy made by Benedictines of the seventeenth or eighteenth cent., printed by Roparz, *Notice sur Ploërmel*, p. 163. That from the Breviary of S. Malo, printed at Paris, 1489, is in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., t. iii, pp. 298-9. Albert le Grand gives the Life from the Breviaries of Léon and Folgoët—the latter no longer exists—also from the *Legendarium* of Plouarzel, which has also disappeared. Albert le Grand is usually very reliable in what he extracts from documents no longer accessible, though reckless in attribution of dates. The earliest text we have is that of the Rennes Breviary, and this is later than the twelfth century, but is probably based on an earlier life.

Arthmael was born in Morganwg, in the cantref of Penychen. We are not told the names of his parents, but this we obtain from the Welsh genealogies. From one in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 133, we learn that Derfael, Dwyfael, and Arthfael were sons of Hywel, son of Emyr Llydaw, cousins of S. Cadfan; they were members of S. Illtyd's "choir," and afterwards were with S. Cadfan in Bardsey. Arthmael was accordingly first cousin of S. Samson, S. Padarn, S. Maglorius, S. Malo, and brother probably of S. Tudwal of Tréguier, and perhaps also of S. Leonore.

According to the Life in the Breviaries, he was educated in a monastery under a certain abbot Caroncinalis, more properly Carentmael, but did not become a monk. He lived as a secular priest, till one day entering the church he heard the deacon read the gospel:—"Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath cannot be My disciple." This seemed to him to be spoken to himself. He therefore resolved on abandoning his own land, his parents, and his property. He went to Carentmael and told him his purpose. The abbot agreed to depart also, and a large body of colonists left South Wales together with Caroncinalis and Arthmael. They landed in the mouth of the Aber Benoit in Finistère, the principality of Léon, and went inland till they formed a settlement where is now Plouarzel.

Carentmael is said to have been a near kinsman of Paul of Léon, but he has left no impression in the district where he settled, and he is not numbered among the Breton Saints.

Arthmael remained at Plouarzel some years till the death of Jonas, king of Domnonia, in or about 540, when Conmore married the widow, and obliged Judual, or Iuthael, the prince, to fly for his life to the court of Childebert. Arthmael, like Leonore and other Saints of Armorica, got on bad terms with the regent Conmore, and he was obliged to leave and go to Paris, where he did his utmost to induce Childebert to displace Conmore and restore Judual. His efforts were unavailing,

till the arrival of Samson, whose energy and persistence in the same cause broke down finally the King's opposition, and they were suffered to return to Brittany, and organise an insurrection on behalf of Judual.

This succeeded, and Conmore was killed in battle in 555. Judual rewarded Arthmael for his services by giving him land on the Seiche, now in Ille et Vilaine, where is the village of S. Armel. Here he established a monastery. A dragon infested the neighbourhood; he went to it, put his stole about its neck, and conducted it to the river. He bade the monster precipitate itself into the stream, and was at once obeyed. This is a symbolic way of saying that he subdued Conmore, the old dragon of Domnonia.

Passing one day by the valley of Loutéhel, the people complained to him that they lacked good water, and with his staff he miraculously produced a spring. He would seem to have established another monastery at Ploermel, near the pretty lake called l'Etang du Duc, in a well-wooded rolling country. Whether he died and was buried there or in his territory near the Seiche, and where is his tomb in the church, is uncertain. How long this was after the restoration of Judual we do not know, but it was somewhere about 570.

He was formerly patron of Ergué-Armel, near Quimper, but has been supplanted by S. Allorius. There is a fountain of the Saint at Loutéhel, and another prettily situated near the road to Vannes at Ploermel. At this latter place is a window of stained glass of the sixteenth century, representing the story of the Saint in eight compartments: 1. S. Arthmael bidding farewell to his parents. 2. S. Arthmael healing a leper. 3. The messenger of Childebert summons Arthmael to court. 4. Arthmael performing a miraculous cure. 5. Arthmael and his companions bid farewell to King Childebert. 6. S. Arthmael with his stole round the dragon. 7. S. Arthmael precipitating the dragon into the river. 8. The death of the Saint.¹ Arthmael became one of the most popular Saints of Brittany.

In addition to the parish churches of Plouarzel, Ploermel and S. Armel Loutéhel, and Ergué-Armel, those of Languedias and Langoet were dedicated to him, and he had chapels at Bruz, at Fougeray, Lantic, Radenac, S. Jouan de l'Isle, S. Glen, Sarzeau, and Dinan. His day is most generally regarded as August 16, Missal of Vannes, 1530; Breviary of Vannes, 1589; MS. Calendar of S. Meen, fifteenth century; Breviary of Dol, 1519; Proper of Vannes, 1660; and the MS. Breviary of S. Melanius, Rennes, 1526, Albert le Grand, and Dom Lobineau.

On the other hand August 14 is his day in the Breviary of S. Malo,

¹ Roparz (S.), *La Légende de S. Armel*, S. Briec. The window is engraved in *La Légende de S. Armel*, S. Briec, 1855, c. xii, p. 133.

1537, and in that of Léon, 1516; August 15, a Missal of S. Malo, fifteenth century; August 17, the Quimper Breviary of 1835; July 27, the Vannes Breviary of 1757.

The name Arthmael has become in Breton Arzel and Armel and Ermel. He does not seem to have received any cult in Wales, but in Cornwall Arthmael had a chapel, and was represented on the screen (1531), had an altar, and was commemorated annually at Stratton.¹

S. Arthmael is represented in stained glass of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century in the church of S. Sauveur, Dinan, habited as an ecclesiastic with an amice over his shoulder and a cap on his head, and with a green dragon at his feet, bound by his stole. At Ploermel, in like manner in brown habit; but at Languedias is his statue of the seventeenth century that represents him as an abbot, trampling on a dragon, which he holds bound with his stole.

S. Arthmael is invoked for the healing of rheumatism and gout. Henry VII would seem to have brought with him from Brittany a veneration for this saint. There is a fine statuette of him in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, where he is represented as trampling on the dragon, and mailed, with gauntlets on his hands. This is a reference to his designation as "Miles fortissimus" in the legend as given in the Breviary of Léon, 1516, and in the Rennes Prose of 1492, in which he is invoked as "armigere" against the enemies of our salvation. On Cardinal Moreton's monument in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral he is also represented, but the figure there has been grievously mutilated, head and hands have gone.

S. Ermy'n's Hotel, Westminster, stands on S. Ermy'n's Hill. This is first mentioned in 1496 as S. Armille's, and later on the name is found as Armell, Armen, Ermyne and Armet. There was a chapel there in the seventeenth century, which is now represented by the modern parish church of Christchurch, Westminster.

For the Bibliography of S. Arthmael, see F. Duine, *Saints de la Brocéliande*, iii, S. Armel, Paris, Le Dault, 1905.

S. ARTHNEU, or ARTHNE, Confessor

THIS Saint's name is inserted in the alphabetical catalogue of the Welsh Saints in the *Myvyrian Archæology* only,² but without any genealogical particulars. Llanarthney, in the Vale of Towy, Carmar-

¹ Goulding, *The Blanchminster Charity*, Lond., 1898. In this it is said that the *Meneday*, or Feast of the Saint, was observed at Stratton, but the day is not given.

² P. 418.

thenshire, was probably dedicated to him originally.¹ Rees and others give it as dedicated now to S. David. There once existed a Capel Dewi in the parish. In the twelfth century *Book of Llan Dâv* the parish name is written Lann hardneu.²

S. ARVAN, Confessor

THERE is a church in Monmouthshire bearing this title. In the fourteenth century procurations added to the *Book of Llan Dâv* it is called Ecclesia de Sancto Aruyno.³ But in 955, this church seems to be that spoken of as Ecclesia Sanctorum Jarmen et Febric,⁴ to which fled a deacon for sanctuary when he had basely murdered a man who was binding up his wounded thumb. The circumstances were these. The deacon accosted a reaper in a field, and they came to words, when the reaper struck at the deacon with his hook and sliced off one of his fingers. The deacon begged the man to bind up the wound, and whilst the latter was so engaged, he stabbed him to the heart with a knife, and then ran to the church for refuge. The relatives of the murdered man broke into the church and killed the deacon before the altar. Bishop Pater was furious. He summoned a Council, and threatened the King with excommunication, unless the culprits were delivered up. King Nogui surrendered the six men, and the bishop confined them in prison at Llandaff, fast chained for six months, and then only released them on condition that they paid a heavy fine in money, and surrendered all their possessions to the church.⁵ As these lay near S. Arvan's, there can exist no doubt that this was the church called that of SS. Jarmen and Febric. Surely this was one of the most iniquitous judgments ever delivered.

S. ARWYSTL, Confessor

THE various late genealogies of the Welsh Saints mention three Saints of the name of Arwystl, or Arwystli.

1. Arwystl, or Arwystli Hên ("the Aged"). He is said to have been a man from Italy, who came with Bran ab Llyr Llediaith as his confessor

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 329.

² P. 279, ed. Evans and Rhys.

³ *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁵ "Sinodo judicante diffinitum est ut unusquisque eorum suum agrum, suamque substantiam insuper et pretium animæ suæ hoc septem libras argenti redderet ecclesiæ quam maculaverat." *Ibid.*, p. 220.

(*periglawr*) to the Isle of Britain, to teach the Faith in Christ.¹ Two others are said to have accompanied him, Ilid and Cyndaf.² Arwystl, or Arwystli, is, by many writers now out of date, identified with Aristobulus, mentioned by S. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, xvi, 10, who, in the Greek Menologies, is said to have been ordained bishop by S. Paul and sent by him to Britain.³ But the story has no foundation whatever, and the name Arwystl, or Arwystli, cannot possibly be squared with Aristobulus. In Mediæval Welsh it appears as Arguistil, and occurs frequently in that form in the *Book of Llan Dâv*.⁴ Arwystl, which occurs also as a common Welsh vocable, means a pledge or security.

2. Arwystl, a son of Cunedda Wledig, who in the fifth century came from the North with his sons and settled in Wales. He is included among the Welsh Saints only once, in a passage in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁵ where it is stated that he "won a district, which was given him, and he called it after his own name, Arwystli; and he himself is there called Arwystl of Arwystli." The district-name is preserved in that of a Rural Deanery in Montgomeryshire. No churches are mentioned as having been dedicated to him; in fact, there is no authority for including him among the Welsh Saints. The Cunedda list in the document referred to is an unwarranted insertion.

3. Arwystl, or Arwystli Gloff ("the Lamé"), whose name is given as that of one of the ten sons of Seithenin ab Seithin, "King of Gwyddno's Plain, whose land was submerged by the sea; and they became Saints in Bangor Fawr in Maelor, on the banks of the Dee."⁶ Arwystl afterwards became an inmate of Bardsey Bangor. He married Tywanwedd, or Tywynwedd, daughter of Amlawdd Wledig, and by her had seven children, who were at first saints in Bangor on Dee, and, after its destruction, in the Bardsey Bangor.

The country called Gwyddno's Plain is better known as Cantre'r Gwaelod, or the Bottom Hundred, and is said to form the Cardigan Bay of to-day. The story of its submersion is told in its oldest form in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*.⁷

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 135.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 115, 135.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, i, p. 24.

⁴ See the index to the edition by Evans and Rhys; cf. Vita S. Cadoci, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 83.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 122. Nicolas Roscarrock, from a MS. of E. Powell, priest, gives, "S. Arwistle, lord of Arwistly, second son of Cunedag, who had eleven or twelve brothers and one sister, most whereof were patrons in Wales."

⁶ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 141-2, 145. On p. 124 he is wrongly said to have been son of Owain Danwyn.

⁷ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, p. 59.

In the older genealogies, however, Arwystl is never included as a saint, but merely as the *father* of saints, such as Deifer of Bodfari, Teyrnog of Llandyrnog, etc. ; and his name is in them spelt Hawystyl and Awystyl Gloff. So his title to saintship cannot stand.

4. There is one Arwystl, however, who is entitled to saintship—Arguistil or Arwystl, the disciple of S. Dubricius at Hentland and Moccas, and who was consecrated by him bishop.

He obtained a grant of Lann Coit from Idon, son of Ynyr Gwent,¹ and there is good reason to suppose that this is Lancaut on the Gloucestershire side of the Wye, occupying a peninsula almost completely surrounded by the river. In the time of Idon it was doubtless included in the kingdom of Gwent Iscoed. No details are given in the *Book of Llan Dâu* as to its locality. It must have been devastated by the Saxons, and then, perhaps, the Church of Llandaff laid claim to another Llangoed on the strength of the name.

Arwystl became associated with S. Teilo ; perhaps, when the Yellow Plague broke out, he was one of those who accompanied him to Brittany, for we find there a S. Argoestle, in the Diocese of Vannes, named in a deed of 1280, patron of a church ; the name has now been softened to S. Allouestre.² The foundation is not far from the Gildasian monastery of the name.

As nothing was known of the Argoestle from which the parish took its name, S. Arnulf, bishop of Metz, has been substituted for him as patron. The foundation was made near the old Roman road from Corseul to Vannes.

Probably in 556 Arwystl returned to Wales with S. Teilo, and as his church was deserted, the territory depopulated by the plague, he seems to have attached himself to Llandaff, for he witnessed several of the grants made to S. Teilo. In later times, when the fable had been given currency that Dubricius had been the first bishop of Llandaff, and when Llandaff laid claims to all the possessions of Dubricius and his disciples, then Arwystl was worked into the series of bishops of Llandaff.³ He does not seem to have survived S. Teilo, as his name does not occur as a witness during the rule of S. Oudoceus.

The whole matter of the interpolation of the list of bishops, and of the absorption of the Dubricius churches by Llandaff, shall be dealt with fully when we come to the Life of Dubricius.

¹ *Book of Llan Dâu*, p. 166.

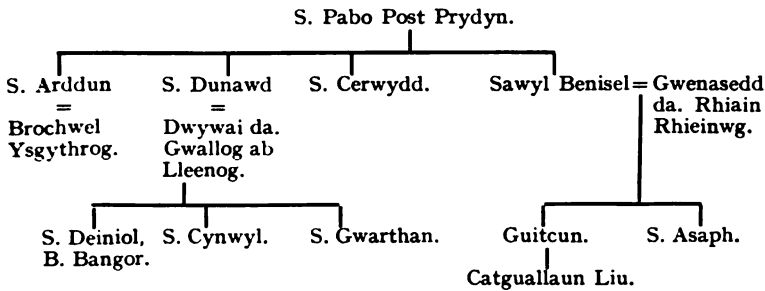
² Le Mené, *Paroisses de Vannes*, Vannes, 1894, ii, p. 344.

³ *Book of Llan Dâu*, pp. 303, 311.

S. ASAPH, Bishop, Confessor

S. ASAPH lived during the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Like SS. David, Deiniol, Samson, and a few others of the Welsh Saints, he bore a Biblical name, which assumed in Welsh the forms Assaf or Asaf and Assa or Asa.¹ The genealogies of the Welsh Saints invariably give his father's name as Sawyl (occasionally, Sawel) Benuchel, the son of Pabo Post Prydyn,² but in the very early genealogies in *Harleian MS.* 3859 (compiled apparently in the latter part of the tenth century) he appears as "Samuil pennissel map Pappo post priten,"³ with the epithet "Penisel" (of the low head) for "Penuchel" (of the high head). The later genealogists confounded him with the Glamorganshire chieftain (*dux*), Sawyl Benuchel, described in a Triad as one of "the three overbearing ones of the Isle of Brittany,"⁴ and who with his men took upon him to annoy S. Cadoc and his clerics.⁵ They were punished by being all swallowed up by the earth, and he could not therefore have been the Sawyl who became a saint or monk of Bangor on Dee.

The following brief genealogical table will be of service:—



S. Asaph's grandfather, Pabo, "the Pillar of Prydyn" (Pictland), hailed from the North. Having been worsted by the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Pictish Goidels, he retired into Wales, where he was welcomed by Cyngen, king of Powys, who gave him land. He was the father of Dunawd, Cerwydd, Sawyl, and Arddun, and from being a king

¹ It was locally pronounced Hassa in the eighteenth century. Willis, *Survey of S. Asaph*, 1720, p. 127. Aseph occurs in Welsh pedigrees.

² *Peniarth MSS.* 12, 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 417-8; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 102, 125, 128; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266.

³ *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, p. 179. In *Peniarth MS.* 74 (sixteenth century) he is called "Sawl Ben Isel."

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 389.

⁵ Vita S. Cadoci in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 42-3, where his name occurs as "Sauuil pennuchel." Another Sawyl Benuchel is mentioned in Geoffrey's *Brut*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 82.

became a religious at his son's (Dunawd) Bangor on the Dee, of which Sawyl was also a member.

S. Asaph's mother was Gwenassedd, or Gwenaseth.¹ The older and later pedigrees differ entirely as regards the name of her father. From the older genealogies, *e.g.*, in *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45 (thirteenth century) and *Hafod MS.* 16 (c. 1400), we learn that she was the daughter of Rhiein (Rhiein Hael or Rhein) of Rhieinwc; that is, Rhiain (Rhain) or Rhiain Hael of Rhieinwg. The district name means "the land of Rhiain" (cf. Morganwg), which shows that he was a person of sufficient importance to bestow his name upon a district. Rhieinwg or Rheinwg was an ancient name of Dyfed, but it took the name from a person who, we know, lived at an earlier period than Gwenassedd's father; so that here we are confronted with a distinct district, wherever it may have been situated.

This puzzled the later genealogists, and they not only converted Rhiain or Rhain into Rhun, but went a step further by identifying this Rhun with Rhufawn, son of Cunedda Wledig, who has given name to the *cantref* of Rhufoniog, in Denbighshire, situated on the western side of the Elwy of the (ancient) parish of S. Asaph. He is thus noticed in the *Iolo MSS.*²—

"Rhufawn, the son of Cunedda Wledig, received the *cantref* which was called after him Rhufoniog; and he is called Rhufawn of Rhufoniog, and also Rhun Hael of Rhufoniog, because he was the most generous man in Wales in his times."

S. Asaph's nephew, Cadwallon Llyw (or Lliw), may possibly be identical with the Cathwallanus of Jocelin's Life of S. Kentigern, c. 23, who granted that saint land to found his monastery at Llanelwy.

Jocelin says S. Asaph was "distinguished by birth," and it may be observed that he was a nephew of S. Dunawd, founder of Bangor on Dee, and a cousin of S. Deiniol, founder and first Bishop of Bangor. He was very probably a native of the *cantref* of Tegeingl in Northern Flintshire (represented by the old Deanery of the name, now divided into those of S. Asaph and Holywell, with part in that of Mold), for there his memory chiefly lingers in the topography. When quite a boy he was placed as a disciple under S. Kentigern or Cyndeyrn, the exiled bishop of the Britons of Strathclyde, at his college on the Elwy, founded about 560, which had become so famous that "the number of those who enlisted in the army of God amounted to 965, who professed in act and manner the monastic rule according to the institution of the holy man." "Nobles and men of the middle class brought their chil-

¹ In one notice (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 125) she is made to be his grandmother, wife of Pabo.

² P. 122.

dren to the Saint to be brought up in the nurture of the Lord.”¹ Here he soon became distinguished as the ablest and most popular member.

There was a *Vita Sancti Asaph* in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*, the original of which has long been lost. There is an imperfect transcript of the MS., of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph, but unfortunately the so-called Life is merely a fragment, and what now remains is practically a Life of S. Cyndeyrn.² What is told us therein about S. Asaph is very little, and is to be found in the involved prologue. The author says:—“I have sought, with diligent love, the Life of the most glorious Confessor and Pontiff, Asaph, our Patron, in various places, in monasteries, cathedrals, and Baptismal Churches.” He then proceeds to summarise what had been told at length in the Life of the Blessed Kentigern about the foundation of the See, and supplements it with a little about S. Asaph’s election and consecration, “the sweetness of his conversation, the symmetry, vigour, and elegance of his body, the virtues and sanctity of his heart, and the manifestation of his miracles.”

There is no clue as to who the hagiographer was, but he was very probably one of the cathedral clergy, who lived between the beginning of the twelfth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and compiled the Life (“hoc opusculum,” as he describes it), in popular form, from various written sources, to demonstrate the sanctity of the two Saints, and edify the faithful. It would thus supply the *Legenda* for the Saint’s Day. Possibly it was also intended to support the change from Llanelwy or Elvensis to S. Asaph. According to the prologue it was compiled, in addition to the various documents in Welsh, out of an extant Life in Latin (*ex uno libro Latino*), which was in all probability the “little book of his Life” referred to and quoted from by Jocelin. The latter, now lost, may have been based upon a Life written probably by a disciple of S. Asaph himself.

Most of what is known about S. Asaph is to be gleaned from the Lives of S. Kentigern, especially that by Jocelin, a monk of Furness, written about 1180. We are there told that among the brotherhood

¹ Metcalfe, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, translated, p. 232 (Paisley, 1895).

² The *Liber Ruber Assavensis*, generally called in Welsh “Coch Asaph,” is said to have been originally compiled during the episcopate of Dafydd ab Bleddyn, who was consecrated in 1314 (Willis, *S. Asaph*, p. 51). See *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1868 for its contents. The Vita covers pp. 42–6. Soon following the prologue “two great leaves” are said to be wanting in the original, and it was also imperfect at the end. There is another transcript of the MS. made in 1602, in the Peniarth Collection (MS. 231), of which considerable use was made by Haddan and Stubbs in their *Councils, etc.*, vol. i. Gwallter Mechain (*d.* 1849) saw the original MS. (imperfect, beginning at p. 53) in the possession of a Merionethshire person.

at Llanelwy was "one Asaph by name, distinguished by birth and presence, shining in virtues and miracles from the flower of his earliest youth. He sought to follow the life and teaching of his master, as may be learnt more fully by reading a little book of his Life, from which I have thought fit to insert in this work one miracle, because the perfection of the disciple is the glory of the master. For on one occasion, in the time of winter, when the frost had contracted and congealed everything, S. Kentigern, having according to his custom recited the Psalter naked in the coldest water, and having after putting on his clothes gone out in public, he began to be greatly oppressed by the intensity of the cold, and in a measure to become entirely rigid. . . . The holy father therefore ordered the boy Asaph to bring fire to him, at which he might warm himself. The Lord's child ran to the oven and begged that coals might be given him. And when he had nothing in which to carry the burning coals, the servant said to him either in joke or seriously :—' If thou wish to take the coals, spread out thy dress, for I have nothing at hand in which thou mayest carry them.' The holy boy, fervent in faith, and trusting in the sanctity of the master, without hesitating, having gathered up his dress, held it out, and received into his lap the live coals, and carrying them to the old man cast them forth in his sight from his bosom, without any sign of burning or corruption being apparent on his dress.¹ The greatest astonishment, therefore, took hold upon all who were present because the fire carried in the dress had not in the least burnt combustible material. A friendly dispute arose between the father and his holy disciple concerning this sign, for the one seemed to maintain his ground by assertions to which the other as justly objected. The bishop ascribed the working of the sign to the innocence and obedience of the holy boy; the boy asserted that it was done on account of the merits and sanctity of the bishop, obeying whose command and trusting in whose holiness he had ventured to attempt it. . . . S. Kentigern, therefore, who up to this time had held the venerable boy Asaph dear and beloved, from that day henceforward regarded him as the dearest and best loved of all, and as soon as he conveniently could, raised him to holy orders."²

When, as the result of the great Battle of Arderydd in 573, Rhydderch Hael established himself as the first monarch of the Kingdom of Cumbria, he recalled S. Cyndeyrn to resume his ecclesiastical primacy

¹ This was not an uncommon miracle among the Welsh Saints; cf. the case of S. Caffo in the *Vita S. Kebii*, and that of S. Cadoc in the *Vita S. Tathel Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 186, 261.

² Metcalfe, *ut supra*, pp. 234-5. The little known to the Bollandists of S. Asaph is to be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, i, p. 82.

over that region as Bishop of Glasgow, which he held until his death in 612. Before leaving Llanelwy he solemnly addressed the brotherhood, and, "with the unanimous consent of all, appointed S. Asaph to the government of the monastery, and by petition of the people, and by the canonical election of the clergy, successor of his bishopric. . . . When the sermon was ended he enthroned S. Asaph in the cathedral seat, and again blessing and bidding them all farewell, he went forth by the North door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy. When he had gone out that door was closed, and all who saw or heard of his going out or departure bewailed his absence with great lamentations. Hence the custom grew up in that church that that door should not be opened except once a year, on the festival of S. Asaph, that is, on the Kalends of May, for two reasons. First, in deference to the sanctity of him who had gone forth; secondly, because thereby was indicated the great grief of those who had bewailed his departure. Therefore, on the day of S. Asaph that door is opened, because when he succeeded the blessed Kentigern in the government their mourning was turned into joy. From that monastery a great part of the brethren, to the number of 665, being in no wise able or willing, so long as he lived, to live without him, went with him. Only 300 remained with S. Asaph."¹

S. Cyndeyrn must be regarded as the first Bishop of Llanelwy, as well as the founder of the religious establishment there. Jocelin says that "in the church of the monastery he established the Cathedral Chair of his bishopric, the diocese of which was the greater part of the adjacent country, which by his preaching he won for the Lord."² A document, some centuries later, printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, differs in that it makes S. Asaph "the first Bishop in Bangor Assaf."³ S. Cyndeyrn's name has never been associated with the nomenclature of either cathedral or diocese, which were originally known, and still are by Welsh-speaking people, as Llanelwy, "the Church on the Elwy" (*cf.* Llandaff).⁴ The English name S. Asaph (never S. Asaph's) is not known to have occurred earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century, since which time both names have coexisted. In mediæval documents the bishops of the Diocese are variously styled Episcopi

¹ Metcalfe, *ut supra*, pp. 246-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 232; *cf.* also the *Red Book Vita*, p. 45, "Monasterium Sedem Cathedralem constituit."

³ P. 128. Another, p. 102, says that "his Church is Bangor Asaf."

⁴ "In eadem provincia [Tegenia] est Cathedralis ecclesia à nostratibus Lan Elguensis, ab Anglis Assaphensis dicta, inter Cluydam & Elguim fluvios fabricata." Humphrey Lhuyd, *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*, f. 55b (Cologne, 1572).

Elguenses, Eluenses, Lanelvenses, Assaphenses, and Assavenses. S. Asaph's fame in time far eclipsed at Llanelwy that of his great master Cyndeyrn. The latter was a stranger, and his residence there was but short, *circa* 560-73. The great veneration in which S. Asaph's memory came to be held may be well accounted for by his connection with the immediate district, his eminent virtues and piety, and, possibly, munificent benefactions by his family to Llanelwy; but what must have contributed more than anything else was the fact that the cathedral church was the depository of his ashes. That his body in the thirteenth century lay there is certain, for in a letter of Edward the First, dated probably from Rhuddlan in 1281, proposing the translation of the Cathedral Church to Rhuddlan, where it would be more secure and better protected, it is said, "*sed tanquam illa quæ in nullius bonis sunt, prædonum incursibus et latronum insidiis, una cum corpore sancti Assaphi gloriosissimi confessoris, subjacent periculis infinitis.*"¹ Whether the monastery was elevated or not to a Cathedral Church, and the See founded, in S. Cyndeyrn's or S. Asaph's time, the latter's name alone has become associated with the diocese, the limits of which, at some unknown date, were made conterminous with the principality of Powys. S. Asaph is supposed to have been succeeded by S. Tyssilio, but there is no really authentic record of the See until 1143, when Gilbert was consecrated bishop by Theobald of Canterbury.

The topography of Tegeingl, S. Asaph's probable native *cantref*, presents several places bearing his name. Besides the city name there are Llanasa (his Church); Pantasa (his Hollow or Glen), in the parish of Whitford adjoining, but now in the ecclesiastical parish of Gorsedd; and Ffynnon Asa (his Holy Well), in the parish of Cwm. His name is coupled with S. Cyndeyrn's in the dedication of the parish church of S. Asaph, which, like most of the Vale of Clwyd churches, consists of two equal and parallel aisles, known as "*Eglwys Gyndeyrn*" (north) and "*Eglwys Asa*" (south), respectively.² Llanasa also has parallel aisles, which are said to be similarly dedicated.³ There appears to be some uncertainty as regards the dedication of the Cathedral Church, whether to the two Saints conjointly, or to S. Asaph alone. Browne Willis gives it as dedicated to S. Asaph alone, with Patronal Festival May 1.⁴ All the evidence goes to show that S.

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, *etc.*, i, p. 530; Willis, *S. Asaph*, p. 156.

² Willis, *S. Asaph*, pp. 20, 126.

³ Thomas, *History of the Diocese of S. Asaph*, 1st ed., p. 203. Willis, however, in his *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 357, gives the church as dedicated to S. Asaph alone. So Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Asaph was regarded as the Patron of the Diocese—consequently of its Cathedral Church. In his fragmentary Life he is styled, “Gloriosissimus Confessor et Pontifex Asaph Patronus noster.” Bishop Llywelyn ab Madog of S. Asaph, in his will, dated 1373, says, “Imprimis, confisus meritis & precibus Sanctissimi Asaph Episcopi & Confessoris, Patronique mei, lego animam meam Deo,” etc.;¹ and Bishop Bache in his will, dated 1394, commits his soul “Deo & Beato Asapho Confessori glorioso & omnibus Sanctis.”²

There is a modern church dedicated to S. Asaph in Birmingham, the parish of which was formed in 1868.

There is a cottage near the village of Rhualt, in the parish of Tre-meirchion, adjoining that of S. Asaph, which bears the name of Onen Asa (S. Asaph’s Ash-tree). Within comparatively recent years there was a well-known spot in the High Street at S. Asaph where “the schoolboys used to shew a mark on a black stone, in a pavement of the street, about the middle of the hill betwixt the two churches, which they said was the print of S. Asaph’s horse-shoe, when he jump’t with him from Onnan-Hassa, which is about two miles off.”³ A similar legend appears to have been associated with two other Welsh Saints, Einion Frenhin and Cynllo, for Ol Troed March Engan, at Llanengan, and Ol Traed March Cynllo, at Llangoedmore, are represented to be their horses’ hoof-prints. So with Carreg Carn March Arthur (the stone with the impress of the hoof of Arthur’s steed), under Moel Famma.⁴ With the name Onen Asa may be compared that of the place-name, still in use, Daniel’s (or Deiniol’s) Ash, in the parish of Hawarden. Both may have been preaching stations.

Ffynnon Asa is a natural spring remarkable for the great volume of water it throws up from the limestone rock, and for its extreme coldness. It is considered the second largest well in Wales, next to S. Winefred’s, and is said to yield no less than seven tons of water per minute. The stream, some forty yards from the spring head, turns a large mill-wheel, and forms a fine waterfall at Dyserth, about a mile and a half from the well. Dr. Johnson, when he paid a visit to the waterfall, says that the well was “covered with a building,”⁵ which has now disappeared; and Pennant describes it as being in his day “inclosed with stone, in a polygonal form.”⁶ Its water was considered

¹ Willis, *S. Asaph*, p. 241.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212. S. Asaph is the only Welsh Cathedral that escaped Norman re-dedication. The Cross Keys, now the arms of the See, and suggestive of a Petrine dedication, are a modern blunder for a key and crozier in saltire.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 134–5.

⁴ Edward Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, p. 11 (London, 1816).

⁵ *Diary of a Journey into North Wales in the year 1774*, p. 77 (London, 1816).

⁶ *Tours in Wales*, ii, p. 113, ed. 1883.

to be beneficial in rheumatic and nervous complaints, and people used to bathe in it. In a field belonging to Llechryd, in the parish of Llanefydd, is another well called Ffynnon Asa. It forms the source of the brook Afon Asa, which runs into the Meirchion, a tributary of the Elwy. The field, as "Kae ffynnon Assaphe," is mentioned in an indenture dated February 16, 1656. S. Asaph has another Holy Well, in the Vale of Conway. In a will dated 1642 mention is made of a meadow called "Gweirglodd Ffynnon Asaph," in Erethlyn, in the parish of Eglwys Fach, Denbighshire.¹

The year of S. Asaph's death is generally given as 596,² but this is manifestly too early. He died on May 1, which occurs as his Festival in but very few of the Welsh Calendars—the *Iolo MSS.* one (from a MS. written *circa* 1500), that in the Welsh Prymer of 1633, and the one prefixed to *Allwydd Paradwys* (1670); also by Nicolas Roscarrock.³ In the *Martyrology of Aberdeen* his Festival is observed on the same day: "Kl' Maii. In Vallia Sancti Aseph discipuli Sancti Kentigerni de quo ecclesia cathedralis in eadem prouincia cujus pacientia et vite sanctitudo illius regionis incolis viuendi normam egregiam et fidei constantiam admonuit." ⁴ To this it may be added that "the only trace of his cultus in Scotland is in the parish of Strath, in the Isle of Skye, in which there is a chapel called Asheg. . . . There is no doubt that it was primarily dedicated to S. Asaph. . . . Among the excellent springs with which this parish abounds one is considered superior to all, and is called Tobar Asheg, or S. Asaph's Well." ⁵

A fair, long since discontinued, was held at S. Asaph on his Festival. The confirmation of the fair—to be held on the vigil, day, and morrow of the Festival of SS. Philip and James—was obtained by Bishop Dafydd ab Bleddyn in 1321.⁶ It was a source of revenue to the Dean and Chapter, who received the tolls of the same. Willis adds that the regard had to the day in his time "appeared from appointments of payments of money, and other orders relating to usages and customs in this Church (the Cathedral), which commenced on this Festival." ⁷

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1887, p. 158.

² *E.g.*, Pennant, *supra*, ii, p. 128; Willis, *S. Asaph*, p. 35.

³ The 1st May as his Day is in Wilson's *Martyrologie*, 1st ed. 1608, and 2nd 1640. Curiously, not in Whytford. But he is in the modern Roman Martyrology, and Pope Pius IX, by a Rescript, ordered the Sunday following May 1 to be observed as a double of the Second Class.

⁴ Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 130. For his Proper see Dr. Stevenson, *The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of S. Kentigern, his Friends and Disciples*, from the Aberdeen Breviary and the Arbuthnot Missal. Edinb., 1874, pp. 24-5.

⁵ Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁶ Willis, *S. Asaph*, pp. 51, 184.

⁷ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 339.

ite S. Asaph's eminence as a Welsh Saint, mediæval Welsh are has but little to say about him. Not so much as one poem s to have been written in his honour. Iolo Goch, Owen ar's laureate, mentions him as "Assa lwyd" (the Blessed), vokes his protection for himself.¹ Lewis Glyn Cothi, a fifteenth y Carmarthenshire bard, also invokes his protection for Caio, *ale solum*. In another passage he exclaims, "Myn bagl Assa!" S. Asaph's *baculus* or pastoral staff!"; and in another he he expression "pryd Asa," by which the Saint's traditional meness is implied.²

s credited with having written "*Ordinationes Ecclesiæ suæ*, and e of his master Kentigern." ³ He very probably did write the his master, but it has not come down to us in its original form. have formed the basis of the Lives by the anonymous monk celin in the twelfth century. The following saying is attributed , and "would bee often in his mouth"—

Quicunque verbo Dei adversantur,
Saluti hominum invident.⁴

s represented in fifteenth century glass in Llandyrnog church, in le of Clwyd.

S. AUDE,⁵ Virgin, Martyr

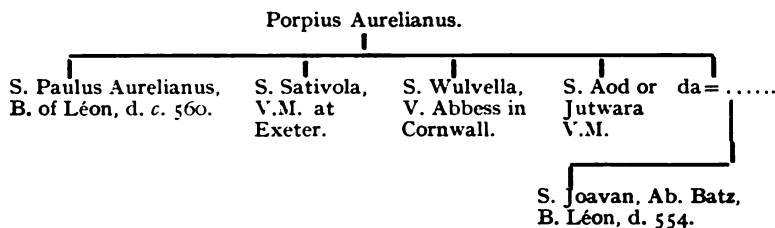
identification of this virgin Saint presents peculiar difficulties. ntly the Aude or Haude venerated in Léon is the same as the a of the Sherborne Calendar. The name Jutwara or Aud- s Aed-wyry, or Aed the Virgin, but at Sherborne the Welsh rent through modification to suit English mouths.

legend of S. Aude in the Léon and Folgoet Breviaries is the ith certain small differences as that by John of Tynemouth in e's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, of Jutwara.

ithiau Iolo Goch, ed. Ashton, pp. 355, 533 (Oswestry, 1896). *ith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, pp. 311, 371, 533 (Oxford, 1837). "Bagl Asaf" rs in a eulogy of Bp. Wm. Hughes (1573-1601) by Wm. Lleyrn. Godwin, *Catalogue of Bishops of England*, London, 1615, p. 544. le out of Capgrau" (*Ibid.*, *ad loc.*). The apothegm is quoted by Bp. Davies at the end of his *Epistle to the Welsh*, prefixed to the Welsh New nt of 1567. It has been put into Welsh thus by some one—

Y neb a ludd ddysgu crefydd,
Trwy gentigen etyl rybudd.

name is from the Welsh *Aidd*, zeal, warmth, ardour, cognate to the , *cad*, and the Gaelic *eud*.



It will be advisable to tell the story as given by the latter, noting the differences, and then to point out some curious coincidences which link it on to that of Paulus Aurelianus, or Paul of Léon. Jutwara, born of noble parents, lost her mother, and her father married again. She had a brother named Bana and three sisters, Eadwara, Wilgitha, and Sativola. All these sisters were Saints.

Jutwara grew pale as wax, and her step-mother asked her the cause. She replied that she was suffering from pains in her chest. The step-mother advised the application of a cream-cheese; and then told Bana a scandalous story affecting his sister; "atque in argumentum fidei interulam puellae a pectore ejus extrahere suadit: dicens eam profuente de mamillis lacte madidam fore."

The young man rushed to find his sister, and meeting her as she was returning from church, charged her with incontinence. She was staggered at this accusation. "Interulam ejus, ut doctus fuerat, extraxit: quam madidam inveniens"—in a blind fury, he drew his sword and cut off her head. Not only did a fountain spring up on the spot, but a great oak grew there as well. After many years the tree was overthrown by a gale, and fell against a house that was near, so that the branches interfered with exit and entry. The owner of the house and his boy set to work to hack the boughs away, when the stump, relieved of the burden, righted itself, and carried up the lad who was clinging to a branch uncut off.

According to the Léon version of the story, of which however we have only Albert le Grand's arrangement, the name of the father was Galonus, presumably a settler from Britain, living at Trémaouezan, near Landerneau, in Léon. He had a son Gurguy, and a daughter Aude. Gurguy went to the court of Childebert; and on his return found that his father had married again, a lady of good family whom he had met in Britain. The step-mother poisoned his mind against his sister, told him she had been incontinent, and he rushed to find her, at a well washing clothes. He cut off her head, and found her bosom stuffed out with milk-curd, which she had purposed giving to the poor. She took up her head, walked to the hall, put on her head again, reproached her brother, and forthwith died.

The story goes on to relate that Gurguy repented and went off to S. Paul at Léon and was bidden by him retire as a penance into a forest near Landerneau, and there fast and pray for forty days. The penance accomplished, Gurguy returned to S. Paul, who admitted him as a monk into his monastery, and finally sent him to be superior to a cell he had established at Gerber, afterwards called Le Relecq, and changed his name to Tanguy.

Then follows a legend of the bringing of the head of S. Matthew to Brittany, and the founding by Tanguy and S. Paul of a monastery on a headland, the extreme western point of Finistère. This is a gross anachronism, as the relics of S. Matthew were not brought to Brittany till 830.¹ This episode may accordingly be dismissed.

What is true is that S. Paul founded the monastery of Gerber, afterwards called Le Relecq, about 560 on the spot where the final battle was fought between Judual and Conmore, usurper of Domnonia, in 555, in which Conmore was slain. It acquired its name Le Relecq, or *abbatia de reliquiis*, from the number of bones found about on the battlefield, *relegou* being the Breton for bones of all sorts, not necessarily of Saints.² S. Paul gave Tanguy a dozen monks as his companions. The new name imposed on him is derived from Tan, fire, as that of Aude is from flame.

Now if we look at the *Life of S. Paul of Leon*, an early document, we find that he had as his father one Porphyus,³ and that he came from Penn-Ohen, *i.e.* Cowbridge, in Glamorgan, and that he had three holy sisters, the name of one of these was Sicofoffa, and he had brothers Notalius and Potolius.⁴

Sicofoffa is, we may suspect, the Sativola of the Exeter Calendars, popularly called Sidwell. If this be so, then we obtain the names of Paul's other sisters. It is true, the author of his *Life* says there were only three that were saints, whereas in the *Life of S. Jutwara* there are four named. The curious coincidence is that Tanguy in Léon is represented as in close relationship with S. Paul.

Eadwara and Jutwara may be only two forms of the same name Aed-wyry. The sister called, in the *Life of S. Jutwara*, Wilgitha, is known in Cornwall and Devon as Wulvella, and she is the reputed foundress of Gulval.

¹ "Chronicon Britannicum," in Dom Morice, *Preuves*, i, p. 3.

² Abgrall (Abbé), *Le livre d'or des Eglises de Bretagne*, Nos. 19-20, Les Abbayes, p. 9.

³ In Achau'r Saint (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270) the name is Pawlpolius, printed by Rees Pawlpolins.

⁴ Vita, ed. Dom Plaine in *Analecta Boll.*, 1882.

It is possible that Lanteglos by Camelford may have been dedicated originally to Jutwara, as Laneast, hard by, is to the sisters Wulvella and Sidwell. The church is now supposed to be dedicated to S. Julitta. There is a Holy Well, in fair preservation, with remains of a chapel at Jutwells, which may be a contraction for Jutwara's or Aod's well. The day of the Translation of the body of S. Jutwara from Halinstoke to Sherborne Abbey was observed on July 13. Where was Halinstoke? Can it have been Helstone or Helsbury, the former in Lanteglos, the latter the stone camp dominating it? Nicolas Roscarrock says that holding her head in her hands, she turned to look back on the hill where she had been martyred.

July 13 was given in the Sherborne Calendar and by Whytford. What seems confirmatory of the dedication is that at Camelford in Lanteglos parish, a fair is held on July 17 and 18, *i.e.* within the week or octave of the feast of the Translation of S. Jutwara.

The day of her martyrdom according to Nicolas Roscarrock was January 6, but he also gives the day of her translation, July 13.

The sequence for S. Jutwara's day is in the Sherborne Missal, liturgical notes on which have been issued by Dr. Wickham Legg, for the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, 1896. It recites the incidents of her legend. It concludes with the invocation:—"Virgo sidus puellaris medicina salutaris, salva reos ab amaris, sub mortis nubecula." In the Breviary of Léon, 1705, the feast of S. Aude is marked on November 28, as a semi-double. Statues of SS. Tanguy and Aude are in the chapel near the ruins of the abbey of S. Matthieu, also in the church of Kernilis. A statue of S. Aude of the sixteenth century, perhaps earlier, is at Guizény. It is probably she who is represented with a scimitar, her sister S. Sidwell is on the next panel but one, at Ashton, Devon, on the screen, certainly at Hennock beside S. Sidwell with her head in her hands.

In art she might well be represented holding a cream-cheese, or a sword, with an oak tree at her side, if the identification with Jutwara be admitted. In *Allwydd neu Agoriad Paradwys*, 1670, S. Juthwar V.M. is inscribed on December 23, but this is borrowed from Wilson's *English Martyrologie*, 1608, and he puts an asterisk to the insertion to show that he had no authority for it. The insertion there was purely arbitrary.

S. Aude, Virgin, is entered in Whytford's *Martiloge*, on November 18 a slip apparently for November 28.

S. AUGULUS, Bishop, Martyr

AUGULUS, Bishop of London and Martyr, is in the Roman Martyrology, that of Usuardus, those also of Rhabanus Maurus, Wandelbert of Prum, Ado of Vienne, the thirteenth century Martyrology of Christchurch, Canterbury, Arundel MS., No. 60, also a martyrology written between 1220 and 1224, MS. Reg. 2, A. xiii, etc.¹

Nothing whatever is, however, known of him. The day is February 7. Whytford in his *Martiloge* gives on that day, "In brytayne at august the feest of saynt Agge a martyr and a bysshop"; also Nicolas Roscarrock.

S. AUSTELL, Monk, Confessor

AUSTELL was a disciple of Mevan or Mewan, and accompanied him and S. Samson from South Wales. When Samson made a foundation at Golant near Fowey, previous to crossing into Armorica, Austell must have been there as well, for he planted his *llan* where stands now the beautiful church that bears his name, and hard by that of his master. On the tower he is represented as a hermit or pilgrim with staff and beads, on the right hand of the Saviour, and on the left is S. Samson habited as Archbishop of Dol, in pall with archiepiscopal crozier.

Austell followed Mewan and Samson to Brittany. Mewan was sent by Samson with a message across the forest of Bracilien to Vannes, and on the way Mewan made friends with a settler from Britain, who persuaded him to found a *llan* near his place, and promised him all his territory on his death. This was the origin of the famous abbey of S. Méen.

When Mewan was dying Austell stood by with streaming eyes, the aged abbot bade him cease weeping, and not be discouraged, as he would follow him in seven days. Accordingly, seven days after, Austell was found dead in his bed.

The brethren knowing the friendship of long standing that existed between the two, resolved to lay Austell by his abbot.

On opening the stone coffin, they found that the dead man, whom they had laid on his back with folded hands over his breast, had moved on one side so as to allow space for his faithful companion. S. Austell's

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, i, Appendix B., p. 27. *et seq.*

day is June 28. "Septimo—die, quod est quarto kalendas Julii—in pace obdormiens requievit."¹

Trésveaux in his additions to Lobineau gives the fifteenth century Calendar of S. Méen, and this has the commemoration as on the Vth calends, or June 27.²

Gaultier du Mottay quoting the same authority gives June 29.³ Clearly both have misread the original.

S. Austell (Austulus) does not seem to have founded any churches in Brittany; he was content to be eclipsed by the greater luminary, S. Mevan. But in Cornwall he has a church of great beauty.

According to Sir Harris Nicolas, the Feast of S. Austell was formerly kept on Trinity Sunday, but Nicolas Roscarrock, a better authority because he wrote in or about 1610, and was a Cornish man, says that the Feast was kept on Thursday in Whitsun Week. There is no separate Life of this Saint; all we know of him is from the *Life of S. Mevan or Mewan*. This has been published by Dom Plaine. It is subsequent to the tenth century, and is contained in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, tome iii (1884), and is from a MS. that belonged to the Abbey of S. Méen, but is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

The death of S. Austell took place about 627.

Nicolas Roscarrock from local tradition says that "S. Austell and S. Meven were great friends, whose parishes joyne."

S. AVIA, see S. EWE

S. BACH

BACH AB CARWED or Carwyd was the founder of Eglwys Fach, "if the story be true," as the compiler of the alphabetical catalogue in the *Myrryrian Archaeology* adds,⁴ the more obvious signification of the name being the "small church." The parish is situated partly in Denbighshire and partly in Carnarvonshire, and the church is now given as dedicated to S. Martin. Bach's name does not occur in any of the *Iolo MSS.* lists. Rees⁵ places him in the second half of the seventh

¹ *Vita Sti. Mevenni*, ed. Plaine, p. 16.

² *Vies des Saints de Bretagne* (ed. 1836), tome i, p. xxviii.

³ "Essai d'Iconographie Bretonne," in *Bulletin de la Société Polym. des Côtes du Nord*, tome iii, 1857-60. Calendar, p. 353; also p. 127.

⁴ P. 419.

⁵ *Welsh Saints*, p. 306.

story. He is supposed to have been a Northern chieftain and warrior, who, retiring into North Wales, fixed upon this sequestered spot, and dedicated the close of his life to religion. According to the local tradition the present tower of the church formed his dwelling or cell.

Edward Lhuyd in his *Itinerary of Wales* (1698-9) says that Bach killed a certain wild beast which was the cause of much annoyance to the inhabitants on the banks of the Carrog near the church. The beast was a kind of wild boar, and they called it Carrog. A little after the slaughter Bach happened to kick the monster's head, but through contact with one of its tusks bruised his foot, and died of the wound (cf. the case of Diarmait in the Irish legend). Another version represents this monstrous boar, which played the part of a mediæval dragon, as having been killed by the united action of the inhabitants. There is yet another tradition, which attributes its slaughter to S. Beuno, who paid Eglwys Fach a special visit for the purpose. According to this, Carrog somewhat resembled a flying serpent, which made its appearance in the daytime, kidnapping and eating children. S. Beuno, from the church tower, directed an arrow to the tender spot on its throat—the only vulnerable part on its body—and this took fatal effect. There is a tumulus, called Bedd Carrog, at Eglwys Fach, which tradition holds out as the monster's grave.¹

The word *carrog* means a brook or torrent, and is the name of no less than half a dozen streams in Wales. A good number of the Welsh place-names bear a "swine" signification, or are in some way or another associated by legend with swine.

In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the church is called "Eglewys Ewach," and in the *Valor* of 1535 the living occurs as "Rectoria de Vach." These, as well as later forms, show that the name is really Eglwys y Fach, meaning "the church in the nook or angle," which accurately describes its situation in the Conway Valley. If dedicated to a S. Bach, who founded it in the seventh century, its name most probably would have been Llanfach. There is another Eglwys Fach, in Cardiganshire, which is dedicated to S. Michael the Archangel.

S. BACHLA, see S. BAGLAN AB ITHEL HAEL

¹ Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 25-26; Silvan Evans, *Welsh Dictionary*, s.v. Carrog; Williams, *Eminent Welshmen*, s.v. Bach; Bye-Gones for 1896: Ellis, *Survey of S. Asaph*, ed. Edwards, i, p. 284.

S. BAGLAN AB DINGAD, Confessor

THERE were two Welsh Saints named Baglan. One was Baglan the son of Dingad ab Nudd Hael by Tenoï, the daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog of Dinas Eiddyn, *i.e.* Edinburgh.¹ He was a brother to SS. Lleuddad, Eleri, Tegwy, and Tyfriog. They were all saints at one time of Llancarfan, and afterwards went with S. Dyfrig to Bardsey. Rees places him in the second half of the sixth century.² He founded Llanfaglan, near Carnarvon, which is now under Llanwnda. He is connected in the genealogies with Coed Alun. Llanfaglan is situated in Maenor Alun on the Menai Straits, near their southern extremity. The church has been wrongly supposed by some, from its name, to be dedicated to the Magdalene. Baglan Church in Glamorganshire, is sometimes ³ said to have been founded by him, but wrongly we think.

There is a Welsh proverb now generally quoted in the following form, "Ffordd Llanfaglan yr eir i'r nef," "The way of Llanfaglan one goes to heaven." In the *Red Book of Hergest* collection of proverbs (apparently its earliest known occurrence) it is written, "Ffordd ylanfaglan yd eir y nef." The English equivalent would seem to be "None go to heaven on a feather bed." Llanfaglan Church is picturesquely situated, surrounded by trees, in the centre of a large field washed by the Menai Straits, and there never appears to have been any public roadway towards it. It is now practically abandoned, a new church, more conveniently situated, having been built to replace it.

Baglan is mentioned in the Life of his brother S. Llawddog or Lleuddad (*Llanstephan MS.* 34), to whom he attached himself, and together served God. From it we gather that he was Dingad's eldest son.

S. BAGLAN AB ITHEL HÆL, Confessor

THIS saint's father was a prince of Llydaw, or Armorica, of which country he was also a native, and for this reason was called Baglan Llydaw. He was a brother to SS. Tanwg, Twrog, Tegai, Trillo, Fflewîn, Gredifael, and Llechid, and all or nearly all of them accompanied S. Cadfan to Bardsey.⁴ Rees places him in the first half of the sixth century.⁵ He founded Baglan Church in Glamorganshire, which

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 and 45; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418, 427; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 103, 113, 139.

² *Welsh Saints*, p. 275.

³ *e.g.*, *Iolo MSS.*, p. 103.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 112, 133, 139.

⁵ *Welsh Saints*, p. 223.

has also, but wrongly, been attributed to S. Baglan ab Dingad. Near the church there is a well "famous for curing rickety children; but, according to the vulgar opinion, only on the three first Thursdays in May."¹

Edward Lhuyd, in his *Reliquiæ*, has the following note on Baglan Church: "Its name from St. Baglan, which tradition says was a disciple of St. Illtud, and one time carried fire in the skirt of his garment from St. Cattwg without singeing it. Illtud seeing, took it for a miracle, and gave him a staff with a head of brass (which was preserved a sacred relick till of late years, which had a wonderful effect upon the sick), and said it should guide him to a place where he should find a tree bearing three sorts of fruit, there he should build a church for himself. In a short time he came to the place where the church now is, and found a tree with a litter of pigs at the root, a hive of bees in the body, and a crow's nest in the top; but not liking the situation, it being on a proclivity, intended to build it at some distance in a level plain, but what was built by day fell in the night, and was at last forced to take the hilly place where it now is." The present church is on level ground a little below the spot where the old church is situated. He adds, "Under the North part of Mynydd y Ddinas is a spring, formerly much resorted to by rickety children, and especially on three Thursdays in May, Ascension Day to be one of them without fail."

There is a small brook in the parish called Nant Baglan.

A place called Carn Baglan, situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tenby, is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâu*.²

In the Celtic Litany of the tenth century, now in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and published by Mr. Warren,³ occurs the name of Bachla, who is invoked. He appears also in the Celtic Litany of the same period, published by Mabillon from a Rheims MS.⁴

M. J. Loth supposes him to have been a disciple of S. Winwaloe at Landevenec, and that he is honoured as Balag at Penflour near Châteaulin. "Bachla," says he, "has given Bala, as Machlow, Malo, as Machteth, 'a servant maid,' becomes matez, as Mochdreb has become Motreff, near Carhaix."⁵

There is a Ploubalay in Côtes du Nord near Matignon. Of Balay nothing is known. But in the *Cartulary of Landevenec*, Bachla is not

¹ Carlisle, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 1811, s.v. Baglan. ² P. 126.

³ *Revue Celtique*, 1888, p. 88.

⁴ *Vetera Analecta*, ed. 1723, ii. p. 669.

⁵ *Revue Celtique*, 1890, p. 138.

the form of name given to the pupil of S. Winwaloe but Biabil.¹ He lived an eremitical life, and as many miracles attested his merits, he was regarded as a saint.

Bachla cannot be identified with Biabil, he is more probably the Baglan ab Ithel Hael, who, having come from Armorica, may have returned to it.

S. BANHADLEN, Matron

S. BANHADLEN was the daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch,² by, according to Rees, ³ Mechell, daughter of Brychan, his first wife. This statement is made apparently on the authority of Owen Pughe's *Cambrian Biography*; ⁴ but it is quite wrong. In the *Vespasian Cognatio* we have this entry, "Marchel filia Brachan uxor Gurind barmbtruch de Merionyth." From this we learn that Marchell (not Mechell) was the wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch, of Meirionydd, a descendant of Cunedda Wledig, ⁵ and a totally different person from Cynyr of Caer Gawch.

Banhadlen became the wife of Dirdan, "a nobleman of Italy," also reckoned among the Saints, ⁶ and was the mother of S. Ailbe. Her name is sometimes wrongly given as Danadlwen. No churches are dedicated to her, nor is her Festival known. As a common noun *banhadlen* means the broom.

S. BAR, see S. FINBAR

S. BARRUC, Monk, Confessor

CRESSY in his *Church History of Brittany*, Rouen, 1668, says, "Baruck. a Hermit, whose memory is celebrated in the Province of the Silures and Region of Glamorgan. He lyes buried in the Isle of Barry, which took its name from him," and he adds, "In our Martyrologe this Holy Hermit Baruck is said to have sprung from the Noble Blood of the Britains, and entering into a solitary strict course of life, he at this time (A.D. 700) attained to a life immortall."

Cressy's dates are set down, like those of Albert le Grand, very

¹ *Cart. de Landevenec*, Rennes, 1888, p. 159. "Fuerunt duo ex discipulis sancti Uningualoei in pago Enfou in ploe Ermeliac, nomina eorum sanctus Biabilius et sanctus Martinus, jussu abbatis sui degentes vitam heremicam, et in finem claris miraculis sancti effecti."

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 107, 146.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 162, cf. p. 147.

⁴ P. 241.

⁵ See also the O. Welsh genealogies in *Harl. MS.* 3859.

⁶ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 314.

arbitrarily. Barruc is the monk of that name who was a disciple of S. Catwg, and who is mentioned in the *Vita S. Cadoci*.¹

"It happened that the blessed Cadoc on a certain day sailed with two of his disciples, namely Barruc and Gualehes, from the island of Echni, which is now called Holme, to another island named Barry. When, therefore, he prosperously landed in the harbour, he asked his said disciples for his Enchiridion, that is to say, his manual book; and they confessed that they had lost it through forgetfulness, in the afore-said island. On hearing this, he at once commanded them to go aboard a ship, and row back to recover the codex, and blazing with fury broke into the following invective, saying, 'Go, and never return!' " ² Then the disciples, making no delay, at the command of their master quickly entered the boat, and rowed out to the afore-mentioned island. When, having recovered the volume, they were on their way back about midcourse, and were seen in midsea by the man of God sitting on top of a hill in Barry, the boat unexpectedly upset, and they were drowned.

"The body of Barruc being cast by the tide on the shore of Barry, was there found, and was buried in that island, which bears his name to the present day. But the body of the other, that is to say, Gualehes, was swept by the sea to the Isle of Echni and was there buried." The story as told is not to the credit of Catwg, but his curse is an after invention. Naturally he wanted his book back, and would not ill-wish the men who were to recover it for him; but the writer of the Life, to enhance the credit of his hero, as he thought, made him predoom the poor fellows to death, that the accident might seem to be a fulfilment of his word.

Barry Island is an islet about a mile and a half in circumference, situated in a sandy bay, and separated from the mainland by a narrow isthmus, which at low water is dry. It is treated as being in the parish of Barry opposite, which is said to have taken its name from it. Barry, not so long ago a tiny village, is now celebrated for its extensive docks. In Norman times William de Barri founded the Castle of Barry on the island, and from him was descended Giraldus de Barri, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis. Leland, writing of the island, says, "Ther is in the midle of it a fair litle Chapel of S. Barrok, wher much Pilgrimage was usid." ³ There are no traces of it now to be seen. The hermit is said to have been buried in it. Towards the south of the island, at

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 63-4.

² "Hujuscemodi invectionem in eos cum furore inurens, inquit: Ite nunquam rediturus." *Vita S. Cadoci*, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 63.

³ *Itin.*, iv, f. 62.

a spot called Nell's Point, is the saint's holy well, once much resorted to. Great numbers of women visited it on Ascension Day, and having washed their eyes with its water, each would drop a pin into it. As many as a pintful were once found on cleaning the well out.

In the *Vita S. Cadoci* (written in the early thirteenth century), already quoted, the island is said to have been so called from S. Barruc. Its name occurs there as Barren.¹

The *Iolo MSS.* credit S. Barrwg with having founded Barri and Penmark,² in Glamorganshire. The parish church of Barry is now dedicated to S. Nicholas, and Penmark to S. Mary. Rees³ adds Bedwas, in Monmouthshire, but see the next notice. There is a Ffynnon Farrowg near the church there.

Cum Barruc = Cenubia, in the Valley Dore, Herefordshire, is mentioned several times in the *Book of Llan Dâu*. It was probably identical with Lann Cerniu.

His Festival in the Calendar in *Cotton MS.* Vesp. A. xiv, is on September 27; on which day he is also given by Wilson in both editions of his *Martyrologie*, 1608 and 1640, also by Nicolas Roscarrock, but in the Calendar prefixed to *Allwydd Paradwys*, 1670, November 29. Browne Willis gives September 26.

The Irish abbot Barri, mentioned in the Life of S. David as having ridden S. David's favourite horse across the sea from Pembrokeshire to Ireland, is Finbar. They have been wrongly identified by some writers.

S. BEDWAS, Confessor

BEDWAS was one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glannog, of Tyno Helig, whose lands the sea overwhelmed. The Lavan Sands of to-day form a portion of the territory, on losing which Helig and his sons devoted themselves to religion and became saints, or monks, in Bangor on Dee. Some of them afterwards went to Bardsey.⁴ Rees⁵ classes him with the saints of the middle of the seventh century. He may, if he ever existed, have been the original founder of Bedwas, in Monmouthshire. Browne Willis, Coxe, Rees and others ascribe it to S. Barrwg, and the *Iolo MSS.* to S. Tewdrig.⁶

In the *Book of Llan Dâu*⁷ a brook called Betguos or Betgues is mentioned as forming the boundary of, apparently, Llangoven, Monmouthshire, on the further side of the county. Betgues would yield later Bedwes, which also occurs for Bedwas.

¹ Pp. 45, 63-4; Barren in MS., and not Barreu.

² P. 220.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 342.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 124.

⁵ *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.

⁶ P. 148.

⁷ P. 207.

S. BEDWINI or BEDWIN, Bishop, Confessor

How this bishop came to be reckoned among the Welsh Saints it is difficult to say. His name does not occur in any of the usual genealogies, nor does he appear to have been connected in any special manner with Wales. In the references there are to him in Welsh literature he is associated with King Arthur, and generally with Cornwall. "The Triads of Arthur and his Men" state that there were Three-Throne-tribes of the Isle of Britain. The one at Celliwig, now Callington, in Cornwall, had Arthur as supreme king, Bishop Bedwini as chief bishop, and Caradog Freichfras as chief elder.¹ Another Triad makes Celliwig one of the three archbishoprics of Britain,² over which Bedwini presided as archbishop. His name occurs again in two of the *Mabinogion* tales—in that of Culhwch and Olwen (as Bedwini), where he is mentioned as the one "who blessed Arthur's meat and drink," and in the Dream of Rhonabwy (as Bedwin).³ In these tales Arthur figures as the Champion of Britain, and the persons among whom the bishop appears are as mythological as could well be.

One of the "Sayings of the Wise" is attributed to this Saint thus:—

Hast thou heard the saying of Bedwini,
Who was a bishop, good and grave?
"Consider thy word before uttering it."⁴
(Rhagreithia 'th air cyn noi ddodi.)

There was a Badwin, Badwini, or Bedwin, first Bishop (673–80) of the East Anglian see of Elmham, now included in that of Norwich,⁵ but from Norwich to Callington is a far cry.

There are no churches dedicated to this saint, nor is his festival given.

S. BELERUS, Confessor

IN *Iolo MSS.* (p. 134) we read: "The religious foundation of the Emperor Tewdws (Theodosius) and Cystennin of Llydaw was Bangor Illtyd, where Belerus, a man from Rome, was superintendent, and Padrig, the son of Maewon, principal, before he was carried away captive by the Irish." The college mentioned is that of Caerworgorn, which was also called Côr Tewdws.

The only Theodosius who was in Britain was he who was sent thither in 368, by Valentinian, then at Amiens, against the Picts and Scots.

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Bks. of Wales*, ii, p. 456; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 407.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 407. ³ Rhys and Evans, *Mabinogion*, pp. 112, 148.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253. The triplet occurs in a slightly different form in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 129.

⁵ Bright, *Early English Church History* 3rd ed., p. 285; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, p. 126.

He was beheaded in Africa in 370. His son Theodosius the Great was Emperor along with Gratian, 379, sole Emperor, 392, and died 395. His grandson Theodosius II was Emperor of the West, 423-443. The last of these is probably meant, and Cystennin is Constantine, who was proclaimed in Britain 433, and who reigned till 443. The foundation of Caer Worgorn accordingly took place between 423 and 443.

The foundation of a college in Britain is by no means as improbable as appears at first sight. One of the first cares of Agricola after he had pacified Britain was to establish schools for the education of the young sons of the chiefs in the liberal arts. "He affected," says Tacitus, "to prefer the national spirit of the Britons to the acquired talents of the Gauls; so that their people, who refused at first to speak the language of the Romans, soon became eager to acquire their eloquence."¹ There was an university at Autun in Gaul as early as the reign of Tiberius; later there were others at Rheims, Toulouse and Treves. Gaul produced from its schools the great rhetoricians Votienus Montanus at Narbonne, Domitius Afer at Nimes, Julius Africanus at Saintes.

In 425 Theodosius II founded the university of Constantinople with thirty professors, three rhetors, ten Latin grammarians, five Greek rhetors and ten Greek grammarians, a philosopher and two legal professors (*Cod. Theodos.*, xiv, 9, 3; xv, 1, 53). The law was signed by Valentinian III as well as by Theodosius. Whether the same was done in the West we do not know. This was the final act in the regulation and organization of public education in the Empire.²

With the schools so extensively developed in Gaul, it is inconceivable that they should not also have been established and encouraged in Britain. And that Theodosius and Valerian should have done something towards this is conceivable enough.

A good deal of discredit has been cast on the *Iolo MSS.*, perhaps undeservedly. Iolo Morganwg was a stonemason, and most assuredly knew nothing of the imperial system of education in the colonies. He cannot have imagined the statement above quoted. The MSS. he copied were in most cases late, but he was a faithful transcriber on the whole.

We are disposed to accept the tradition that Caer Worgorn was a school not founded but favoured by the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, and encouraged by the tyrant Constantine.

Belerus, "a man from Rome," has been thought to have been Palladius; but this is phonetically impossible. But as Palladius was

¹ Agricola, 21.

² Boissier, *La Fin du Paganism*, Paris, 1891, i, pp. 172-231.

either born in Britain, or brought into close relation with it, we may here give an account of him.

A Palladius was "magister officiorum" at the time of Julian's entry into Constantinople, after the death of his cousin and predecessor Constantius, 361. One of Julian's first measures was to send a commission to Calcedon, to try a number of persons implicated in the recent civil war. Among these was Palladius, and the judges banished him to Britain, on the suspicion of his having prejudiced Constantius against Julian's half brother, Gallus, and thus having been the occasion of the death of this young prince.¹ Julian perished in 363, when probably Palladius was recalled; but it is possible that he may have married and settled in Britain, and that there was born Palladius, who was to be the first missionary sent to Ireland. We cannot, of course, offer more than the conjecture that this latter Palladius was the son of the Master of the Offices, banished to Britain, but it would seem not improbable, and would explain his lively interest in British affairs.²

At what time he went to Rome we know not, but we find him urging Pope Celestine to send Germanus and Lupus to Britain, to encounter the Pelagians. This was in 429.³ But if he be the Belerus of Welsh tradition, he must have been before this appointed head of Caer Worgorn, supposing such a college to have existed before 423. His abandonment of this monastic college was perhaps due to the Irish marauders who attacked and destroyed it.

The next notice we have of Palladius is of his mission to Ireland. Prosper of Aquitaine in his Chronicle, under 431, says:—"Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent by him to the Scots who believed in Christ, as their first Bishop."

That there were some scattered believers in Ireland at this time is more than probable. Indeed it would be strange if it had not been so, so great was the intercourse between Ireland and Britain and the Continent.

The *Book of Armagh*, written before 700, says:—"Verily indeed was

¹ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. ii, cap. 3. *Zosimus*, *Hist.*, lib. ii, cap. 55.

² This connexion is suggested by Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, p. 403. Archbishop Ussher quotes an ancient authority to the effect that Palladius was a native of Britain.

³ "Agricola Pelagianus Severiani episcopi Pelagiani filius ecclesias Britanniarum dogmatis sui insinuatione corrumpit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Cælestinus Germanum Autisidorensem episcopum vice suâ mittit et deturbatis hereticis Britannos ad catholicum fidem dirigit." In the *Book of Armagh*, Palladius is converted into Archdeacon of Cælestine. For this there is no authority. Muirchu further says that "Palladius was sent ad hanc insulam convertendam," which is a garbling of the words of Prosper, who says that Palladius was sent to those in Ireland "believing in Christ."

Palladius the Archdeacon of Celestine Pope, Bishop of the city of Rome, who then held the Apostolic See, the forty-fifth in succession from S. Peter the Apostle. This Palladius was ordained and sent to convert this island, lying under wintry cold. But God hindered him, for no one can receive anything from earth unless it were given him from heaven ; for neither did those fierce and savage men receive his doctrine readily, nor did he himself wish to spend time in a land not his own ; but he returned to him who sent him. On his return hence, however, after his first passage of the sea, having begun his land journey, he died in the territories of the Britons."

The Second Life of S. Patrick in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* gives some additional details.

"The most blessed Pope Celestine ordained bishop an archdeacon of the Roman Church named Palladius, and sent him to the island of Hibernia, after having committed to him the relics of the blessed Peter and Paul and other Saints, and having also given him the volumes of the Old and New Testaments. Palladius, entering the land of the Scots, arrived at the territory of the men of Leinster, where Nathi mac Garchon was the chief, who opposed him. Others, however, whom the Divine mercy had disposed towards the worship of God, having been baptized in the name of the Sacred Trinity, the blessed Palladius built three churches in the same district, one of which he called Collfine, in which, even to the present day, he left his books which he had received from Celestine, and the box of relics of the blessed Peter and Paul and other saints, and the tablets on which he used to write, which in Scottish are called from his name Pall-ere or Pallao-ere, that is the Burden of Palladius, and are held in veneration.

"Another, to wit, Tech-na-Roman (the House of the Romans) ; and the third Domnach Ardech, or Aracha, in which are (buried) the holy men of the family of Palladius, Silvester and Salonius, who are honoured there. After a short time Palladius died in the plains of Girgin, in a place called Fordun, but others say that he was crowned with martyrdom there."

The Fourth Life, after giving much the same account up to the burial of Silvester and Salonius, adds : "But Palladius seeing that he could not do much good there, wishing to return to Rome, migrated to the Lord in the region of the Picts. Others, however, say that he was crowned with martyrdom in Hibernia."

Fuller particulars as to his departure are given in the Scholia to the hymn attributed to S. Fiacc of Stetty, but which is considerably later.

"He (Palladius) founded some churches, viz., Teach-na-Roman, Killfine, and others. Nevertheless he was not well received by the

people, but was forced to go round the coast of Ireland towards the north, until, driven by a great tempest, he reached the extreme part of Mohaidh towards the south, where he founded the church of Fordun. Pledi is his name there."

In the Irish original version it is said that he reached Cen Airthir, and Dr. Todd suggests that this is Kinnaird Head, on the north-east coast of Aberdeenshire.

The Scottish versions are entirely untrustworthy, they do not date back earlier than the fourteenth century.

Dr. Todd has shown pretty conclusively that, in the later lives of S. Patrick, a fusion has taken place between the acts of the great apostle and a lost Life of Palladius.

In the genuine early records of S. Patrick, as in his own Confession, there is no mention of his having been a disciple of S. Germanus, nor of his commission by Pope Celestine, all this belongs to the earlier apostle Palladius, who, as we learn from Tirechan,¹ was also named Patricius, at the time a common name.²

Professor Zimmer³ has suggested that Palladius is but the Latin form of the name Sucat attributed to S. Patrick. Muirchu mac Machtheni, who wrote shortly before 698, says :—" Patricius, who was also called Sochet, of British nationality, was born in the British Isles."⁴ The Irish hymn of S. Fiacc, states that Patrick when a child was named Succat, and in a gloss on the passage there is the note that the name was British, and meant *deus belli vel fortis belli*, because *su* in British was *fortis*, and *cat* = *bellum*.⁵

" Thus," says Zimmer, " Palladius is a Roman rendering of the British *Sucatus*. . . . Sucat either changed his name himself on his journey to Italy, or, what is more in accord with his scanty education, he made friends select for him a Roman equivalent for the British *Sucatus*." Professor Zimmer identifies Palladius with the Patrick of the " Confessions " and " Letter to Coroticus," which we consider a position wholly untenable.⁶ We would rather suggest that in Britain Patri-

¹ " Palladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur."

² Gibbon says, " The meanest subjects of the Roman Empire " (at the close of the fifth century) " assumed the illustrious name of Patricius, which by the conversion of Ireland has been communicated to a whole nation." *Decline and Fall*, viii, p. 300, ed. Milman and Smith.

³ *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, tr. A. Meyer, London, 1902, pp. 37-8.

⁴ *Tripartite Life*, ed. Stokes, ii, p. 494.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 412.

⁶ Dr. Zimmer's Thesis has met with a crushing rejoinder from the pen of Professo: Hugh Williams, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, iv (1903).

cus bore both names, his Latin and his vernacular name, and that later in life, and when he left Britain, he ceased to be known by the name of Sucat.

Let us endeavour, following Dr. Todd, to reconstruct the history of S. Palladius.

Prosper of Aquitaine in his Chronicle, under 429, says that "Agricola son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the churches of Britannia by insinuation of his doctrine ; but by the instrumentality of the deacon Palladius (ad actionem Palladii diaconi), Pope Celestinus sends Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, in his own stead (vice suâ) to displace the heretics and direct the Britons to the Catholic Faith." And in the year next but one following, *i.e.*, 431, "Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestinus, and sent to the Scots believing in Christ, as their first bishop."

Commenting on the first passage, it deserves remark that Palladius is not called a deacon of the Roman Church, and we should infer that he was the deacon of Germanus. What is probable is, that Germanus, having been chosen by the bishops of Gaul to go to Britain, sent his deacon to announce this to Celestine, and to ask his blessing on the undertaking.

The expedition of Germanus and Lupus to Britain lasted only one year, and they returned to Gaul.

In the third year, 431, Celestine ordained Palladius bishop to those of the Scots, *i.e.* Irish, who already believed in Christ. Palladius then went, as we may presume, to Wales and crossed over from Porth Mawr to the Hy Garchon territory in Wicklow, where he founded three churches, but being much opposed by Nathi mac Garchon, the chief, he was obliged to leave. Nathi was of the Dalmessincorb family.

"It is possible," says Professor Bury, "that we may seek the site of a little house for praying, built by him or his disciples, on a high wooded hill that rises sheer enough on the left bank of the River Avoca, close to a long slanting hollow, down which, over grass and bushes, the eye catches the glimmer of the stream winding in the vale below, and rises beyond to the higher hills which bound the horizon. Here may have been the 'House of the Romans,' *Tech na Róman* ; and Tigrency, the shape in which this name is concealed, may be a memorial of the first missionaries of Rome. But further west, beyond the hills, we can determine with less uncertainty another place which tradition associates with the activity of Palladius, in the neighbourhood of one of the royal seats of the lords of Leinster. From the high rath of Dunlavin those kings had a wide survey of their realm. . . . More than a league eastward from this fortress Palladius is said to have founded a church

which is known as the 'domnach' of the High field, *Domnach Airte*, in a hilly region which is strewn with the remnants of ancient generations. The original church of this place has long since vanished, and its precise site cannot be guessed with certainty, but it gave a permanent name to the place. At Donard we feel with some assurance that we are at one of the earliest homes of the Christian faith in Ireland, not the earliest that existed, but the earliest to which we can give a name.

"There was a third church, seemingly the most important which Palladius is said to have founded, Cell Fine, 'the Church of the Tribes,' in which his tablets and certain books and relics which he had brought from Rome were preserved. Here, and perhaps only here, in the place, unknown to us, where his relics lay, was preserved the memory of Palladius, a mere name. Whatever his qualities may have been he was too short a time in Ireland to have produced a permanent impression."¹

Departing from the south of Ireland by boat, Palladius proceeded north with the intent to visit Ulster, but, according to one account, was driven by a storm to the coasts of Alba and died there. But, as Professor Bury has pointed out, it is more probable that Palladius did seek the Picts in Dalaradia, and that it was there that he died; not, indeed, that he was there martyred, but that he fell sick and died a natural death.

When the later compilers of the *Life of S. Patrick* fused—but very clumsily—the two Patricks into one, they reproduced the story of the crossing into Wicklow and the ill reception met with there, and the subsequent boating north to Ulster; but Patrick was made to land there, whereas they fabled that Palladius had been driven east to Alba.

On the death of Palladius, his companions, Augustine and Benedict returned to their homes, and brought the news of the event to Ebronia or Eboria, where S. Patrick heard of the failure of the mission. There is a difficulty in locating this place, all that we can say with confidence about it is that it was in Gaul. Palladius is commemorated on July 6 in the Arbutnot and Aberdeen Calendars. He is unnoticed in the Irish Martyrologies. It must be clearly understood that the identification of Palladius and Belerus is most uncertain, and is not a little fantastic.

¹ Bury, *Life of S. Patrick*, Lond., 1905, pp. 56-7.

S. BELYAU, Virgin

As Mr. Egerton Phillimore has shown,¹ the Breconshire Church Llanvillo, in Welsh Llanfilo, clearly took its name from and is really dedicated to Belyau, who was, according to the *Cognatio* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv, one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. The church is usually given as dedicated to S. Milburgh, but this is a mere guess. It is called in ancient charters Lanbilio and Lanbiliou. Belyau was one of Brychan's unmarried daughters.

S. BEON or BENIGNUS, Confessor

At Glastonbury in 1091 was elevated and translated the body of a hermit named Beon, who had been buried in the cell he had inhabited in the Isle of Feringmere in the Marshes.

As the Glastonbury monks desired to make the most of their place and of the relics they possessed, besides pretending to have there the tomb of King Arthur, they claimed to have also the bodies of S. Patrick, S. David, and Gildas, and they converted the Irish settler Beon into Benignus, archbishop of Armagh and successor to S. Patrick.

On the occasion of the Translation they had an epitaph inscribed on his tomb, which they pretended had covered him in Feringmere.

William of Malmesbury, who informs us of this in his book on the Antiquities of Glastonbury, says :—" In the year 460 Saint Benignus came to Glastonbury. He was disciple of S. Patrick, and his third successor in the episcopate, as is recorded in their Acts. Benignus, by the counsel of an Angel, leaving his country and pontificate and abandoning his dignity, having undertaken a voluntary pilgrimage arrived at Glastonbury, God being his guide ; and there he encountered S. Patrick. Of how great favour he was in with God is manifested by many tokens. This is testified at Feringmere, where a spring rose at his prayers, and a great flourishing tree grew out of his dry staff. Here, finally, after great anguish he came to a blessed end, in the said island, and there rested till the days of William Rufus, when he was translated to Glastonbury."

The Life of S. Beon or Benignus was written by William of Malmesbury, and this formed the substance of a Life by John of Tynemouth,

¹ See his note in Owen, *Pembrokeshire*, iii, p. 325.

printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. According to this, Benignus, after having spent many years in Ireland as a bishop, at the summons of an angel departed on pilgrimage, and came to Glastonbury where he found S. Patrick,¹ who said to him :—" Go, my brother, content with your staff, and wheresoever it begins to bud, leaf and bloom, there abide, it is ordained for your resting place."

Then Benignus, attended by a boy, Pincius, went through the marsh and willow tangled waste, till they came to an islet or toft in the marsh called Ferramere, and there his rod rooted itself and put forth leaves. At that time " the river which now flows by it," took another course, and Benignus had to send his boy Pinch some distance for water.

One day Pinch was bringing a pitcherful ; the weather was hot, and he lay down half-way and fell asleep. Whilst he snored a mischievous fellow stole the pitcher. Pinch awoke, and when he found the vessel gone, set up a howl, and presently, laughing, the practical joker showed himself and restored it. Pinch took the pitcher to his master and told him that the Devil had played him a trick, but had surrendered the vessel when he cried out to the God of Benignus.

The hermit, compassionating the labour imposed on Pinch, thrust his staff into the soil and elicited a copious spring. Benignus was wont at night to walk along a causeway he had constructed to Glastonbury to pray there in the church of S. Mary. One night he found his passage obstructed by a monstrous form. He addressed it in these words :—" You bloody beast !² what are you doing here ? " The demon replied : " I have been awaiting you, you toothless old man, hoping to deceive you." Thereupon Benignus went at him manfully, caught him by the scruff of the neck, belaboured him with his staff, and flung him into a well—probably a mere hard by, where he sank and was never again seen, and this well or mere was held to be bottomless.

There can be little doubt that this was a practical joke played on the old fellow—and it turned out badly for the performer. When he felt that his time was come, Benignus summoned his disciples to him and announced to them that his hour was at hand ; then raising his eyes to heaven, he expired in their arms on November 3.

In the year 1091, his body was translated to Glastonbury, where several persons troubled with intestinal worms, threw them up in the sight of the congregation.³

¹ " Glastoniam veniens, sanctum Patricium invenit," Vit. apud Capgrave ; " Glastoniam Deo duce pervenit ; ubi et sanctum Patricium invenit," Gulielm. Malmesb.

² " Cruenta bestia ! "

³ " Plurimi etiam colubros et diversa dolorum genera visceribus habentes, palam, vidente populo, evomuerunt."

One of the brethren at Glastonbury, who was ill of a fever, was sceptical, and when advised to invoke the newly translated saint, replied: "It can do no harm, if it does me no good."¹

In the night Benignus visited him, in a paroxysm of wrath at his slighting expression, and soundly boxed his ears.² At the same time he informed the sceptic that one of the brethren had stolen one of his (the Saint's) teeth, and that he would serve him worse unless it were restored. This threat when reported produced the required effect.

As the name given to the anchorite on his tomb was Beon, it is clear that the man was not Benignus, the Irish form of which is Benen. Beoan or Beon is a common name in Irish Calendars, saints so named occur on February 1, August 8, October 26 and 28, and Beogaison July 27, and this name is quite distinct from Benen or Benignus.

That this peppery hermit was an Irishman is probable enough, that he was identical with S. Benignus of Armagh, cannot be allowed.

Benignus is commemorated on November 9, this testy old saint on November 3.

The Syon College MS. Martyrology (*Add. MS. 22,285*) has, on June 27: "Apud glasconiam translacio sancti benigni confessoris." Whytford misread the name and entered in his *Martiloge*: "At Glassenbury the translacyon of sayt Bemonus a Confessor." But in his additions for the same day: "The feest also of Saynt Benygne a confessor."

S. BERNACH, see S. BRYNACH

S. BERRYS

THIS saint's name is entered in the Myvyrian alphabetical Bonedd,³ compiled by Lewis Morris in 1760, but occurs in no other list. He is there given as the patron of Llanferres, Denbighshire, a name variously spelt, Lanverreys in the *Taxatio* of 1291, and Llanferrys and Llanferreis in two late sixteenth century parish lists.⁴ The patron of the church is generally said to be S. Britius or Brice,⁵ the disciple of S. Martin of

"Re enim vera sicut michi prodesse non valet, ita nec michi nocere potest"

¹ "Alapam ingentem in faciem ejus dedit."

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.

³ Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.*, i, p. 914.

⁴ E.g., Browne Willis, *Bangor*, 1721, p. 364; Bp. Maddox's *Book Z* (1736-43) in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph; Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, ii. p. 28; Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 37

Tours, who afterwards became his successor in the bishopric, and whose festival is November 13. Such is undoubtedly the case. In some late sixteenth century marginal notes to the Calendar in a copy of the *Preces Privatae* of 1573, the wakes of Llanferres are entered against November 13; and in the early part of last century they were held on the Sunday next before November 22.¹

Eglwys Brewis, in Glamorganshire, is by some believed to be called after S. Brice, but by others after the De Braose family, which appears to be the more probable. In the *Taxatio* of 1254 (Norwich) it occurs as Egelesprives, and in that of 1291 as Eglis prewis.

S. BERWYN, Martyr

BERWYN, otherwise Gerwyn, is reckoned by the Welsh genealogists among the sons of Brychan, and he is said to have settled in Cornwall, where a church is dedicated to him, and to have been slain in the Isle of Gerwyn; but he is also spoken of as son of Brynach Wyddel or the Irishman, by Corth one of the daughters of Brychan, and therefore grandson of the King of Brecon.² In the late Welsh genealogies his name always occurs as Gerwyn,³ the result of misreading the initial letter of his name. Nicolas Roscarrock in his MS. *Lives of the Saints* calls him Breuer or Berwine, and says that his foundation was what is now called S. Breward or Simonsward, and that he was there traditionally held to have been the brother of S. Endelienta and S. Menefreda.

This so far accords with the Welsh Pedigrees that Mwynen, who is Minver or Menefreda, was daughter of Brynach. Roscarrock further relates that folk at Simonsward reported that the tradition of their predecessors was that he was slain there, and he adds, "There was a tree growing in our memorie in the place of his martyrdom which was ever much regarded and revered and thought to have continued there ever since his death."

S. Breward Feast is on February 2; Old Style this would be January

¹ *Y Gwyliedydd*, x, p. 335 (1833). Bp. Maddox, *ut supra*, gives Nov. 13.

² As son of Brychan in both versions of the *Cognatio*, "Berwin in Cornwallia," and "Berwyn apud Cornubiam"; and as son of Brynach in *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 121, 141.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 119, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 419, 425.

20. The parish of S. Breward had its church dedicated by Bishop Briwere or Brewere of Exeter (1223-1224). Oliver in his *Monasticon*¹ states that the church "Ecclesia Sancti Breweredi de Hamathethi" was granted to Tywardreath Priory in the time of Andrew the Prior. Unfortunately this document is undated, but it must have been before 1154, when Osbert was prior, who appears to have succeeded Andrew immediately. A charter of William Peverel of the twelfth century also calls the church that of S. Brewaredus.²

S. BEULAN, Confessor

A CHURCH in Anglesey is called Llanbeulan, and is generally supposed to be a foundation of Peulan, son of Paul Hên.³

On the other hand Mommsen, in his Introduction to Nennius, says that it undoubtedly takes its name from Beulan,⁴ a priest, at whose command Nennius compiled his history for the use of his son Samuel. But as Nennius made his compilation about 796, or perhaps 800, we can hardly suppose that this Beulan gave his name to a church, as the age of the saintly founders was over.

We shall therefore refer to Peulan for the church of Llanbeulan.

S. BEUNO, Abbot, Confessor

THE authority for the history of S. Beuno is a short life in Welsh. A copy of it occurs in *Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi*, a MS. written in 1346 at Llanddewi Brefi, in Cardiganshire, now in Jesus College Library, Oxford. The MS. was published by Professors Morris Jones and Rhys in 1894, and forms one of the works included in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series, issued by the Clarendon Press; it is found pp. 119-127. The Life is also printed in the *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 13-21, but less accurately.

¹ Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

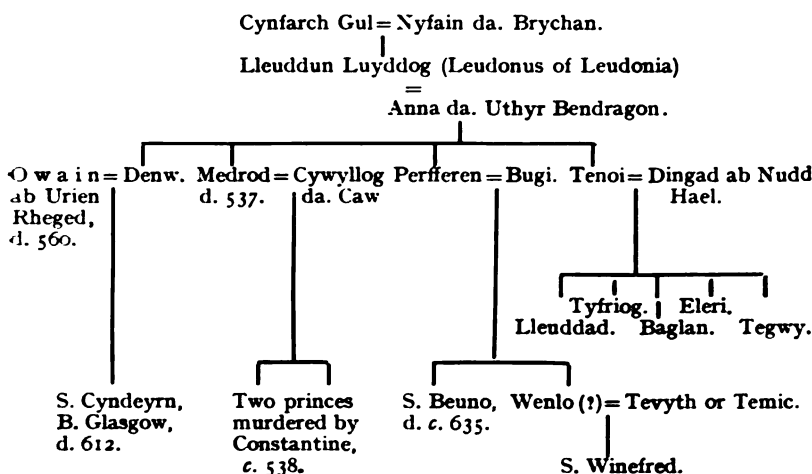
³ Peulan was a disciple of S. Cybi, and came with him to Anglesey.

⁴ *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chron. Minora*, iii, p. 137.

Copies of the Life are to be found in Llanstephan MSS. 4 and 27 (*circa* 1400), Peniarth MS. 15 (fifteenth century), and a number of MSS. of the sixteenth century and later.

A translation of the Life was printed at the end of the *Life and Miracles of S. Wenefrede*, edited by Bp. Fleetwood, 2nd edition, 1713. In the MS. in *Llyfr Agkyr Llandewivrevi* the Life is described as being "a portion of the Life of Beuno and his miracles." It is strongly national and anti-Saxon in tone. S. Beuno also figures in the *Vita S. Winetredæ*.

There is a *Cywydd i Feuno Abad* by Rhys Goch Eryri (*flor.* fourteenth century) which has been printed in *Y Brython*, 1860, pp. 451-2. Another *Cywydd* to "S. Beuno of Clynnog," by Sir John Leiaf (*flor.* fifteenth century), has been printed in *Y Geninen*, 1900, p. 143. There is yet another *Cywydd* to him by Sion Ceri (*flor.* sixteenth century) in Jesus College MS. 17=CI. These poems add but little to what is contained in the Life. In Latin documents Beuno's name is usually given as Beunonus.



According to the pedigree of the saint given at the conclusion of the Life he was son of Bugi, son of Gwynllyw, son of Tegid, son of Cadell Deyrnllwg. His father's name also occurs in the genealogies as Bengi and Hywgi.¹

The pedigree given in the *Vita S. Cadoci* does not agree with this.

¹ Bengi and Bugi are found in the earliest, Hywgi in the later MSS. Byuci occurs as a name in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, p. 279, which would appear later as Bywgi.

Cadoc or Catwg is made son of Gwynllyw, son of Glywys, son of Solor, son of Nor, son of Owain, son of Maximian (Maximus);¹ and according to the Life of S. Gwynllyw, this saint was son and successor to Glywys. The older genealogies give Gwynllyw ab Glywys ab Tegid ab Cadell.² Anyhow, Beuno was closely related to Catwg, and also to Cyndeyrn.

It seems clear that the royal family of Gwent issued from that of Powys, and this will explain the fact stated in the Life of Beuno that Bugi lived in Powysland by the Severn. His wife was named Beren, and she was the daughter of Llawdden.³ Their place of residence was Banhenig, near the river, the identity of which has not been fully established.⁴

In their old age they had a son, whom they named Beuno, and sent him to Caerwent to be educated by Tanguisus, who had probably succeeded Tathan as master of the college founded by Ynyr Gwent. Here he "obtained a knowledge of all the Holy Scriptures; afterwards he learned the service of the Church and its rules, and took orders, and became a priest."

Ynyr Gwent is represented as resigning his royal position and becoming, in his old age, a disciple of Beuno, to whom he granted lands in Ewyas. This is Llanfeuno, a chapelry now under Clodock, near Longtown.

Whilst here, Beuno heard that his father was ill, and committing the charge of his foundation in Ewyas to three of his disciples, he departed for Powys. "And his father, after receiving the communion, making his confession, and rendering his end perfect, departed this life."

Beuno now made a foundation in the township of his father, and set an acorn by the side of his grave, that grew in time to be a mighty oak, of which one branch curved down to the ground, and then rose again, "and there was a part of this branch in the soil, as at present; and if an Englishman should pass between this branch and the trunk of the

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 81.

² *Peniarth MS.* 16 (early thirteenth century); *Peniarth MS.* 12 (early fourteenth century); *Hafod MS.* 16 (circa 1400); cf. *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20 (early fifteenth century).

³ She was otherwise called Peren (*Peniarth MS.* 12; *Hafod MS.* 16; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 267); and Perferen (*Pen. MSS.* 16 and 27; *My. Arch.*, p. 418). Llawdden is Lleuddun Luyddog of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh), the eponymus of Lothian. Her sister Tenoi is given as wife of Dingad ab Nudd Hael, and a mother of saints. But there is a chronological impossibility involved.

⁴ Trelystan, near Welshpool, has been suggested. Near Trelystan Chapel are Badnag (formerly Badnich) Wood and Cottage, and within the chapelry a dingle called Cwm yr Henog. It was much more probably Llanymynch, where there is a S. Bennion's Well, and, in the neighbourhood, the township of Tredderwen.

tree, he would immediately die ; but should a Welshman go, he would in no way suffer."

Thence Beuno went to visit Mawn, "son of Brochwel"¹ Ysgythrog, king of Powys. The relationship is wrong. Mawn or Mawan was brother, and not son of Brochwel. Mawn granted him Aberrihw, now Berriew, in Montgomeryshire, near Welshpool, where an upright stone remains, called Maen Beuno, marking the spot where Beuno is supposed to have preached to and instructed the people. It stands in the level land between the junction of the Luggy and the Severn, and the Rhiw and the same river, a little off the high road from Welshpool to Newtown.

One day, when Beuno was walking by the Severn, "he heard a voice on the other side of the river, inciting dogs to hunt a hare, and the voice was that of an Englishman, who shouted 'Kergia ! Kergia !'² which in that language incited the hounds. And when Beuno heard the voice of the Englishman, he at once returned, and coming to his disciples, said to them, 'My sons, put on your garments and your shoes, and let us leave this place, for the nation of the man with the strange language, whose cry I heard beyond the river urging on his hounds, will invade this place, and it will be theirs, and they will hold it as their possession.'"

Then he commended his foundation at Berriew to a disciple named Rhithwlint, and departed to Meifod, where he remained with Tyssilio forty days and as many nights, and where he is said to have founded a church on land granted him by Cynan, son of Brochwel. However, he did not remain there. Two such shining lights as himself and Tyssilio could hardly abide together, and Cynan gave him lands at Gwyddelwern, near Corwen, in Merionethshire. The name shows that at one time the Irish were in occupation here, and, indeed, the strong stone camp of Caer Drewyn, that commands Corwen and the valley in which is Beuno's church, with its ruined *cytiau*, looks very much as if it were of Irish construction.

But the "Life" gives another explanation of the name. It says that Gwyddelwern was so called because that there Beuno raised an Irishman to life. He was probably Llorcan Wyddel, mentioned as one of six persons said to have been so raised by him.

He did not long remain on this spot, for he quarrelled with the 'nephews' of Cynan, who were hunting in the neighbourhood.

¹ "Vawn vab Brochwel."

² Probably "Charge !" The story brings the English west of Offa's Dyke at the end of the sixth century.

Actually they were grandsons of Cynan, sons of Selyf.¹ Coming to Gwyddelwern, they imperiously demanded food for themselves and their party. They induced Beuno to kill a young ox for their refecton, but the meat did not cook in the pot to their liking, and the youths swore that this was due to Beuno, who was sulky at their quartering themselves upon him, and had bewitched the food. When Beuno heard this he was very wroth, and cursed the young men. "What your grandfather gave to God free, do you demand of it tribute and service? May your kin never possess the land, and may you be destroyed out of this kingdom and be likewise deprived of your eternal inheritance!"

Verily, it was a risky thing to interfere with these old Celtic saints, who wielded the keys of the kingdom of Heaven in a very arbitrary fashion.

The real facts seem to have been that the young men claimed food and shelter as a right, such as they could demand of any lay householder in the tribe; but this was precisely a claim from which the ecclesiastics considered themselves to be exempt.²

The sons of Selyf were Mael Myngan, and Dona, and the latter became a saint, but whether he was one of those, who, on this occasion incensed Beuno, and was cursed by him, we cannot say. Beuno's temper was so ruffled by this encounter that he left the place and went to the banks of the Dee, "to seek a place where to pray to God, but did not obtain one," no doubt because the young princes had instigated their father or grandfather to refuse to give him more land.

Then he went to Temic,³ the son of Eliud; and this Temic gave to Beuno for ever and firmly a township, and Beuno built a church there, and consecrated it to God. He had in fact shaken the dust of Powys from off his feet. He was now in Flintshire, in the kingdom of Gwynedd. There are but slight traces of him in Flint, but he is there associated with S. Winefred at Holywell.

We will not dwell on the story here, it may have been forced into the Life of Beuno from that of Winefred. He is, however, said to have been her uncle; her mother, whose name is given as Wenlo, being his sister. That such a person as Winefred existed, we have good reason to believe; but that the story of her adventure at Holywell, her head cut off and replaced, and growing on to the shoulders as before, is mere

¹ The *nyeint*, "nephews," of the Welsh text is clearly a mistranslation of the *nepotes* of a Latin original.

² Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, pp. 174-5.

³ In the Latin *Lives of S. Winefred* the chieftain is named Teuyth, and Theuith. In her Welsh Life, Tybyt.

fable, as also the miraculous origin of the spring, must be admitted by every rational man.

On the death of Cadfan, king of Gwynedd, Beuno entered into communication with his son Cadwallon.

We are now on historic ground. Cadfan had been elected king of all Britain, in a congress at Chester, and died about 616, being succeeded by Cadwallon. His inscribed tombstone is in Anglesey, at Llangadwaladr. Cadwallon and Edwin, king of Northumbria, were contemporaries, had been friends, but became rivals, and Edwin was killed in battle in 633 fighting against Cadwallon. Cadwallon himself was killed in 634 near Hexham.¹ Beuno visited the king, and made him a present of a gold sceptre that had been given to him by Cynan son of Brochwel, and in return Cadwallon assigned to Beuno a patch of land at Gwredog in Arfon. The saint went thither, and erected a church, and began to throw up a bank to enclose his sanctuary. As he was thus engaged, a woman came to look on, carrying a babe in her arms, and asked Beuno to bless it. "Presently," replied he, "when this job is out of hand."

Whilst he and his monks were engaged on the bank, the child cried lustily and disturbed him. "Ha ! woman," said Beuno, "why is the babe squealing so ?" "He has good reason to cry," replied the mother, "for you are enclosing land and appropriating it that belonged to his father, and is properly his."

When Beuno heard this, he shouted to his monks, "Take your hands from the work ; and whilst I baptize the child, make ready my chariot. We will go to the king with this woman and babe."

So they set out for Caersaint (Carnarvon) where Cadwallon then was, and Beuno said to the king, "Why didst thou give me the land when it was not thine to give, but belonged to this child ? Give me other land, or else return to me the gold sceptre worth sixty cows that I presented to thee."

"I will give you nothing else," replied the king ; "and as to the sceptre, I have already given it away."

Then Beuno, in great wrath, cursed Cadwallon, "I pray to God that thou mayest not long possess the land."

So he departed, and when he had crossed the river Saint, he seated himself on a stone, still foaming with rage and disappointment, when a cousin of Cadwallon came after him, whose name was Gwyddaint, and "for his own soul, and that of Cadwallon," offered him his

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, cc. 1, 2.

own township at Clynnog, "without tribute or service, or any one having any claim on it."¹

This Beuno gladly accepted, and thenceforth Clynnog became his principal residence; but that he had grants made him as well in Anglesey would appear from his having foundations there, at Trefdraeth and Aberffraw, though they can have been only small.

Clynnog is beautifully situated on the north coast of Llyn, under the mountains of Bwlch Mawr and Gyrn Ddu, and when Beuno settled there it was probably dense with rude stone monuments. Two cromlechs remain, one, the most important, between the village and the sea.

Now it happened that there was a skilful carpenter who lived at Aberffraw, a young and handsome man, who was invited to Caerwent, to build a palace there.

Whilst he was engaged on this work at Caerwent, he was seen and loved by Tigiwg, or Tegiwg, daughter of Ynyr the king, and sister of Iddon, his successor, and she eloped with him, or "was given in marriage to the young man, lest she should have him in some other way."

But the carpenter was not particularly amorous, and was a little ashamed of his having to bring a princess to his native hovel, and on the way back to Anglesey according to the legend—he murdered her; probably all he actually did was to desert her, when she was asleep. She was found by Beuno's shepherds, who reported the matter to their master, and the saint (after having resuscitated her) induced her to embrace the religious life, and live near him.²

After a while rumour of what had taken place reached Caerwent, and Iddon, her brother, came in quest of her, and arrived at Clynnog, saw Beuno, and asked to have his sister restored to him. Tegiwg, however, declined to return. She had made a great fool of herself, was sore over her desertion by the young carpenter, and shrank from the jests to which she would be subjected among her own people. Iddon was probably content that so it should be, and pressed her no further, but

¹ The donation of Clynnog is to be found in a confirmatory charter of Edward I in *Harleian MSS.* 696 and 4776, printed in the *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 257 (Rolls Series, 1838). "It was given" *sine censu Regali, et sine consule, sine proprietate alieni, quamdiu fuerit lapis in terra.*" The stone, over which the gift was ratified, formerly stood at Bryn Seiont, Carnarvon, but is now at Bodwyn. It bears an incised cross. For a cut and description of it, see "Relics of S. Beuno," by John H. Pollen, S.J., in *The Month* for February, 1894. This instance of immunity from tribal exactions is cited in Seebohm, *Ibid.*, pp. 172-4, 178.

² Clynnog Digiwg at Penarth in Clynnog is still known, but the name is locally pronounced *Digaw*. See under S. Tegiwg.

asked Beuno to accompany him to Aberffraw to support his demand for the restoration of the "horses and gold and silver," which the carpenter had carried off along with his sister.

Beuno agreed to this, and they went together to the court of Cadwallon at Aberffraw, but no sooner did Iddon set eyes on the gay young carpenter, than he drew his sword on him and would have killed him, but for the interference of those who stood by. The story goes that Iddon cut off the carpenter's head, but that Beuno replaced it, and he was none the worse. But this is an embellishment. Cadwallon demurred to the restoration of the goods, but Beuno insisted, and the king, afraid of incurring another curse, and perhaps seeing that the request was reasonable, gave way. He did more, he "gave to Beuno the palace in which is *Aelwyd Feuno*" (his hearth).¹ Beuno returned to Clynnog, well content, and remained there the rest of his days.

"And as the lifetime of Beuno was ending, and his last day drew nigh, on the seventh day after Easter, he saw heaven open, and the angels descending and ascending again. And Beuno said, 'I see the Trinity, and Peter, and Paul, and David the innocent,² and Daniel, and the saints, and the prophets, and the Apostles and the Martyrs appear. And I see seven angels standing before the throne of the most high Father, and all the fathers of heaven singing their songs, and saying, 'Blessed is he whom thou hast chosen, and taken, and who does for ever dwell with Thee.'"

He was buried at Clynnog, where his shrine and fountain were in repute for many centuries.

The *Iolo MSS.* state that Beuno, in his earlier days, was a saint or monk of the Bangor of Catwg, his uncle, and that he afterwards became *Pen rhaith Gwynedd*,³ which implies that he exercised some sort of ecclesiastical supremacy there, but it merely means that he was Abbot of Clynnog, which was "great in learning and science"—indeed, "the most celebrated of all the Bangors of Gwynedd for knowledge and for piety."⁴ The foundation is variously called Bangor Clynnog and Bangor Beuno in Clynnog Fawr in Arfon.⁵ Leland described it as

¹ P. 126 of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* text. The *Cambro-British Saints* text is here (p. 20) corrupt, as generally.

² The *Cambro-British Saints* text reads here *Diudevirion*, a meaningless bungle. The *Anec. Oxon.* text has *duid wirion*. The first word is a scribe's error for *dauid*.

³ P. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 130.

⁵ There is a beautiful old tradition about a devout monk of Bangor. Beuno, who slept for hundreds of years without waking in a wooded dingle hard by, called Llwyn y Nef, i.e. Heaven's Grove (*Y Brython*, 1860, p. 110; *Cymru Fu*, p. 183). It is a variation of "Yr Hen Wr o'r Coed" (the Old Man from the

being, in his day, "the fayrest Chirch yn al Cairarvonshire, as better then Bangor . . . almost as bigge as S. Davides, but it is of a new Worke. The old Chirch wher S. Bennow liyth is hard by the new."¹ Pennant pronounced it "the most magnificent structure of its kind in North Wales."²

Capel Beuno, or as it is still popularly called, Eglwys y Bedd, the Church of the Grave or Shrine, is built on the south-west side of the church. It was here that S. Beuno was buried. There is nothing of the shrine now remaining, but a plain altar-tomb stood there, a little to the east of the chapel, in the latter part of the eighteenth century.³ Its destruction is said to have been the result of a search for the saint's relics. The chapel is connected with the church by a narrow, dark cloister or passage of about five yards long. It is said that the glass in the large east window of the chapel formerly delineated the legends of SS. Beuno and Winefred. Another account, however, written in the beginning of the eighteenth century, says that it contained a figure of S. Beuno, but that his "miracles and history," as well as S. Winefred's, were to be seen in some fragments of glass in the windows of the church.⁴ There was a belief that scrapings off the pillars in the chapel, dissolved in water, were good for sore eyes.

Ffynnon Feuno, his holy well, is about 200 yards from the church, on the roadside, and is enclosed by high walls. Round the well are seats, and there are steps to go down into it. In the well were formerly dipped rickety and epileptic children, as well impotent folk generally, after which they were carried into the chapel and put to lie over night on rushes on the tombstone. If they slept it was believed their cure would be certain. Pennant saw on the stone "a feather bed, on which a poor paralytic from Merionethshire had lain the whole night," after having previously undergone ablution in the well.⁵

Wood) legend, the Welsh counterpart of the Seven Sleepers, etc. There is another legend connected with this grove. It is said that when the Bangor was being built a certain bird, to which the people to-day give the name of Y Durtur (by which is usually meant the turtle-dove), sang there with such sweetness that the workmen became spell-bound, and could not proceed with their work. In answer to Beuno's prayer the bird was removed, and was never heard there again. "The men of Clynnog had a tradition that S. Beuno caused the materials that were used in building the church to be landed on the shore just below it" (Browne Willis, *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 304).

¹ *Itin.*, v, ff. 49, 13.

² *Tours*, ed. 1883, ii, p. 384.

³ Gough speaks of it as being "whitened over" (*Sepulchral Monuments*, ed. 1796, ii, pt. i, p. cxcii). For its destruction see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1793.

⁴ Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 299.

⁵ *Tours*, ed. 1883, ii, p. 385.

Gored Beuno (his fish weir) is near the creek called Porth Clynnog. At ebb tide there are heaps of large stones still visible.

Leland, in his *Collectanea*,¹ gives an account from the pen of John Ansters, Esq., Garter, of a custom that still prevailed at Clynnog in 1589.

"I went to the Place where it was reported that Bullocks were offered, that I might be an Eyewitnesse of the same. And upon Mondaye in Whitsonne Week there was a yonge Man that was carried thither the Night befor, with whome I had conference concerning the Maner of the Offerings of Bullocks unto Saints, and the yonge man touled me after the same Sort as I had hard of many before ; then dyd I aske him whether was ther any to be offered that Daye ? He answered that ther was One which he had brought to be offered : I demanded of him where it was ? he answered that it was in a close hard by. And he called his Hoste to goe with him to see the Bullocke, and as they went, I followed them into the Close, and the yonge Man drove the Bullocke before him (beinge about a yere ould). . . . And as the Bullocke dyd enter throughe a little Porche into the Church-yarde, the yonge Man spake aloud, *The Halfe to God and to Beino*. Then dyd I aske his Hoste, Why he said the Halfe and not the Whole ? His Hoste answered. He oweth me the other Halfe. This was in the Parishe of Clynnog in the yere of our Lord 1589. . . . Ther be many other things in the Countrey that are verye grosse and superstitious ; As that the People are of Opinion, that Beyno his Cattell will prosper marvellous well ; which maketh the People more desyrous to buye them. Also, it is a common Report amongst them, that ther be some Bullocks which have had Beyno his Marke upon their Eares as soone as they are calved."

The custom fell into disuse only in the nineteenth century. Till a little over a hundred years ago it was usual to make offerings of calves and lambs which happened to be born with a slit in the ear, popularly called *Nôd Beuno*, or Beuno's Mark. The "sacred beasts" were brought to church on Trinity Sunday, and delivered to the churchwardens, who sold them, and put the proceeds into *Cyff Beuno*, or Beuno's chest. Ear-marked calves are still highly regarded by the farmers of Clynnog.² We are told that "multitudes of persons frequently resorted in procession, especially on Trinity Sunday," to make their oblations to the Saint, which were so great that the custom of

¹ ii, p. 648 ; P.R.O., *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.*, vol. ccxxiv, n. 74.

² "Llyfiad Beuno," B.'s Lick, is the name popularly given by the farmers of the locality to the mark seen on the backs of cows when they are in good condition.

levying a church rate or mize had never been introduced here.¹ Into the *cyff* went also the offerings of persons who came from distant parts of the country, even down to the beginning of last century, to propitiate the saint on behalf of their cattle when afflicted with some disorder.² When the chest was opened in December, 1688, it contained £15 8s. 3d., of which the sum of £10 5s. was in groats. The money was applied in relief of the poor and the reparation of the church.

The old chest, half-rotten, scooped out of a solid oak trunk, is still in the church, and has the usual three locks and an aperture to put in coins.³ "*Cystal i chwi geisio tori Cyff Beuno*" ("You may as well try to break into Beuno's chest") used to be a common saying formerly at Clynnog when any one attempted to do something very difficult.

Dr. John Davies says that there was formerly a Book of S. Beuno, called *Tiboeth*, "with a dark stone upon it, in the church of Clynnog in Arfon. This book Twrog wrote in the time of King Cadfan, and it was saved when the church was burnt." It was seen in 1594.⁴ S. Twrog was, *ut fertur*, S. Beuno's amanuensis;⁵ and S. Aelhaiarn, as we have seen, was his acolyte.

The following churches are dedicated to S. Beuno:—Aberffraw and Trefdraeth, in Anglesey; Clynnog, Penmorfa, Bottwnog (under Melltteyrn; land given by Cadell, son of Rhodri Mawr), Cargiwch (land given by Merfyn Frych), and Pistyll (land given by Rhodri Mawr)—the two last under Edeyrn—in Carnarvonshire;⁶ Llanycil (mother church of Bala) and Gwyddelwern, in Merionethshire; Berriew and Bettws Cedewain (originally, no doubt, a *capella* under Berriew), in Montgomeryshire; and Llanfeuno (under Clodock) in Herefordshire.

The ruins of an old chapel, called Capel Beuno, were visible not long since near the house of Tre'r Dryw (now demolished), in the parish of Llanidan, Anglesey, and at the house was religiously preserved an

¹ Willis, *Bangor*, p. 303.

² An instance of a groat being offered for "private sins" is given by Evans, *Beauties of England and Wales*, xvii, pt. i, p. 373.

³ It is well illustrated in *Arch. Camb.* for 1868 and 1900.

⁴ See his Welsh-Latin Dictionary, 1632, s.v. *Tiboeth*; cf. *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 253. *Tiboeth*, or rather *Diboeth* ("not hot, without heat"), is explained by the Greek *ἀσάστos*. The book is mentioned in the confirmatory charter already referred to. We are given to understand that Iolo Morganwg saw it and made a transcript of it. It was probably the volume mentioned by certain witnesses at Carnarvon in 1537 as "*Graphus Sancti Beunoi*" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 77).

⁵ Willis, *Bangor*, p. 273.

⁶ Willis, *Bangor*, p. 273, gives also Denio or Deneio (at Pwllheli)—"*quasi Ty Ffano, Domus Beunonis*." The land was given to S. Beuno by Rhodri Mawr.



S. BEUNO'S CHEST AT CLYNNOG.

be moved by the wind," from which circumstance it was called *Siccus*. He directed her to send it in the following manner. "There is a stone in the middle of the stream of the river, on which I have been accustomed to meditate my prayers, place thereon the cloak at the appointed time, and if it will come to me, it will come." The stone bore it "dry internally and externally" all the way over the sea, along the North Wales coast, into the creek at Clynnog.¹ A similar story occurs in the Life of S. Senan.

All trees growing on land belonging to S. Beuno were deemed sacred, and no one dared to cut any of them down lest the Saint should kill them or do them some grievous harm.

There is a curious legend current in Carnarvonshire about S. Beuno and the curlew. "When S. Beuno lived at Clynnog, he used to go regularly to preach at Llanddwyn on the opposite side of the water, which he always crossed on foot. But one Sunday he accidentally dropped his book of sermons into the water, and when he had failed to recover it a *gylfin-hir*, or curlew, came by, picked it up, and placed it on a stone out of the reach of the tide. The saint prayed for the protection and favour of the Creator for the *gylfin-hir*; it was granted, and so nobody ever knows where that bird makes its nest."²

Yet another legend. In the upper end of Clynnog parish, in the direction of Penmorfa, there is a tenement called *Ynys yr Arch* (the tenement of the coffin), which tradition says received its name from the following circumstance. When the saint's dead body was being conveyed to its burial, the funeral procession halted at this place, and a warm discussion arose as to where his mortal remains should be buried. Three places coveted the honour—Clynnog, Nevin, and Bardsey. In the midst of the unseemly altercation, the whole company fell asleep. When they awoke they saw three coffins, each exactly similar in every respect. The contending parties were thus satisfied; but the legend assures us that Clynnog secured the right coffin.³

A saying of Beuno's is preserved in the anonymous "Epigrams of the Hearing" ⁴ :—

Hast thou heard what Beuno sang?
"Sing thy *Pater noster* and *Credo*;
From death flight will not avail."

In the "Sayings of the Wise" ⁵ it is given somewhat differently :—

¹ The Life reads "porta Sachlen," for which should probably be read "porta Sychlen."

² Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 219.

³ *Y Gwladgarwr*, vi, pp. 44-5 (1838); *Arch. Camb.*, 1849, p. 125. We are indebted to Eben Fardd's *Cyff Beuno* (Tremadoc, 1863) for much information about Clynnog, the Church, and local traditions.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 129.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256.

Hast thou heard the saying of Beuno
To all who resort to him?
"From death flight will not avail."
(Rhag Angeu ni thyccia ffo.)

An old tradition, which was intended to exalt him as one of the greatest of the saints, affirmed that during his lifetime he had raised six persons to life, and that he would some day raise a seventh. It is referred to by some of the mediæval bards.¹

In all the Welsh Calendars his Festival is given on April 21. He was arbitrarily inserted by Wilson in his *Martyrologie*, 1608, on January 14. Roscarrock gives April 21.

Pope Pius IX appointed April 21 as the day for his commemoration in favour of the Jesuit College of S. Beuno near S. Asaph. Beuno died on Low Sunday, falling, we may suppose, that year on April 21. There is no mention in his Life of any transactions with the successor of Cadwallon, who fell in 634. Low Sunday fell on April 21 in 642, 653, and 659. Probably the first of these is the date of Beuno's death, to allow of his association with Ynyr Gwent, who was married to Madrun, daughter of Vortimer, who fell in 457. Ynyr was an aged man when he placed himself in the college of Beuno, but the latter cannot then have been quite young. He was in favour with Cynan Garwyn, son of Brochwel Ysgythrog. According to the Breton life of S. Tyssilio there was a brief reign of two years after the death of Brochwel, and after that apparently Cynan succeeded. Tyssilio was about the age of Beuno we may suppose, and the former died about 650.

Beuno is represented on the open-air fourteenth century stone pulpit of the Abbey of Shrewsbury as an abbot with shaven head, but a ring of hair about it, with an abbatial staff in one hand, and a hare's head in the other. In stained glass at Penmorfa Church, near Tremadoc, he is mitred.

S. BIGAIL, or BIGEL, Confessor

THE name is sometimes written Bugail, which in ordinary Welsh means a herdsman or shepherd. Nothing is known of this saint, and his name does not occur in any of the genealogies; but he is generally identified with S. Vigilius—we presume the early fifth century martyr-bishop of Trent (Austria), whose festival is June 26. The identification, however, is highly improbable, for the Latin *vigilia*,

¹ Their names are given in *Peniarth MS.* 75 (Evans, *Report*, i, p. 498), and see a poem by Dafydd Nanmor (fourteenth century) in *Cefn Coch MSS.*, p. 268.

treated in Welsh as a doublet, has yielded in the old Welsh period the form *gwyl*, and in the mediæval period *mywyl*. He is the patron of Llanfigel in Anglesey, which is under Llanfachraeth. The church is now in ruins. Maen Bigel is the name given to a rock standing in the sea in Holyhead Bay, and also to another in the Sound of Bardsey. The West Mouse, a little island off the north-west coast of Anglesey, is called in Welsh, Ynys Bigel.¹ Browne Willis² gives the patron of Llanfigel as S. Vigilius, with festival November 1. There was formerly a church, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Merthyr Mawr in Glamorganshire, which is called in the *Book of Llan Dâu*³ *Merthir Buceil*. The Pembrokeshire parish-name Begelly seems to be a derivative from the name.

S. BLEIDDIAN, or LUPUS, Bishop, Confessor

STRICTLY speaking, the name Lupus should appear in Welsh as Blaidd. Bleiddian or Bleiddan means a young wolf, and is equivalent to Bleiddyn, which is common as a personal name. All that the Welsh authorities have to say about Bleiddian is to be found in the *Iolo MSS.* He is mentioned as a "saint and bishop, who came to this Island with S. Garmon in the time of Cystennin Fendigaid (or Llydaw) to renew Faith and Baptism."⁴ One entry states that the "Cholirs" of Lllancarfan and S. Illtyd were founded by SS. Garmon and Beiddan, whilst another states that S. Garmon "founded a choir near Caerworgorn (Llantwit Major), where he placed Illtyd principal and S. Bleiddan chief bishop."⁵

But it must be remembered that the hagiological documents printed in the *Iolo MSS.* are late, being the compilations of Glamorgan antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they have been "edited" by Iolo Morganwg, but to what extent it is now impossible to say, as the originals from which he made his transcripts have practically all disappeared. Statements they contain must therefore be accepted with caution.

It is more than doubtful that S. Lupus of Troyes ever was in Glamorgan, and it is probable that the Bleiddian commemorated was an entirely different saint, a member of the Society of S. Illtyd, and lived considerably later than did Lupus of Troyes.

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, pp. 37, 435.

² *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 279.

³ See the Index.

⁴ P. 132. On p. 107 it is said that they came hither in the time of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu (Vortigern).

⁵ Pp. 130-2.

Two churches in Glamorganshire are dedicated to him, viz., Llanfleiddian Fawr (Llanblethian), but now generally to S. John Baptist, and Llanfleiddian Fach known as S. Lythan's. The latter, in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, is called Ecclesia Elidon, and Hen Lotre Elidon and Luin Elidon occur therein also as place-names.¹ In the *Taxatio* of 1291 it is given as Eccl'ia de S'co Lychano (for Lythano).² These forms, however, point to a distinct saint.

One of the Triads in the third or latest series mentions "Hyfaidd Hir, the son of S. Bleiddan in Glamorgan";³ but the glosser's pen is very visible, for the reading in the two earlier series is "Bleiddig in South Wales."⁴

One of "the Sayings of the Wise" stanzas runs—

Hast thou heard the saying of S. Bleiddan
Of the land of Glamorgan?
"To possess reason is to possess everything."⁵
(Meddu Pwyll meddu'r cyfan.)

His Festival is not given in any of the earlier Welsh Calendars. For S. Lupus of Troyes, see under S. LUPUS.

S. BLENWYD, or BLENWYDD

THIS saint's name occurs in two lists of Caw's children, apparently as that of a son, given in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁶ and there only. He is credited by some⁷ with being the patron of Coedana, in Anglesey, but see under S. ANEF. Nothing seems to be known of him.

SS. BODA and BODFAN, Confessors

It is difficult to make out whether these names represent one or two persons, as the copyists appear to have got confused. The older lists give only Boda or Bodo.⁸ The two names occur among the sons of Helig ab Glannog.⁹ On the inundation of Tyno Helig, his territory, his twelve sons became saints, in the first instance, of the Bangor on Dee,

¹ See Index to the book.

² P. 279.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 403.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 399.

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 256.

⁶ P. 142.

⁷ Browne Willis, *Bangor*, p. 282; Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, p. 39.

⁸ E.g., *Peniarth MS.* 16 (early thirteenth century); *Hafod MS.* 16 (c. 1400); *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268, where the name occurs as Bodo.

⁹ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 418-9, 426, 429; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 124; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268.

and after its destruction, some of them—Bodfan among them—took refuge in the Bardsey Bangor. They were contemporaries of Rhun ab Maelgwn Gwynedd.¹ Bodfan is the patron of Aber Gwynnegrn, in Carnarvonshire, now generally called Aber, which parish immediately adjoins the Lavan Sands. Leland calls it "the parochie of Aber otherwise Llan Boduan."² In Sir John Wynn of Gwydir's *Ancient Survey of Penmaen Mawr*, written in the time of Charles I, we are told that Helig had two sons, "Beda and Gwynn, who were both saintes in Dwygyfylchi, and doe lye buried att the end of the Church in a litle Chappell annexed to the west end of the Church."³ The Welsh Prymer of 1618 and Browne Willis⁴ give Bodfan's Festival as January 2, and this date occurs also in many Welsh almanacks of the eighteenth century. Rees⁵ gives June 2, probably a misprint for January 2. A Boduan occurs as a witness to a grant to S. Cadoc.⁶

A Bodian is invoked in the tenth century Litany of S. Vougay. He is thought to have given his name to S. Bedan, a parish in the ancient diocese of S. Briuc.

S. BOTHMAEL, see S. BUDMAIL

S. BRÂN FENDIGAID

BRÂN FENDIGAID (the Blessed), the son of Llyr Llediaith, was a purely mythological personage, without the slightest claim to be reckoned a Welsh saint; but inasmuch as he has been so regarded we must deal with him. First of all we will give briefly what Welsh tradition has to say of him.

"Brân ab Llyr was a valiant King. After the death of his brothers, childless, he went to reside in Cornwall, leaving Essyllwg (Siluria) to his second son, Caradog. He effected much good in repelling his enemies, and was victorious over the Romans. He permitted the Armoricans to remain in Cornwall on condition that they assisted him against the Romans, which they did most manfully. This Brân

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 124.

² *Itin.*, v, fo. 48b.

³ Reprint, *Llanfairfechan*, 1906, pp. 18, 19.

⁴ *Survey of Bangor*, p. 273.

⁵ *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.

⁶ *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 91.

became Emperor of Britain.”¹ He “was the biggest man that ever was seen. He was the kindest and most liberal in his gifts, and the most heroic in war and distress. He drove the Goidels out of his country, where they had remained from the time of Gwrgan Farfdrwch, and he made a fortress (*caer*) on the banks of the River Loughor, which he called Dinmorfael, after his most beloved daughter, who died there. He subsequently erected a church there called Llanmorfael, but now Castell Llychwr.”² Two Triads in the Third Series speak of him as one of the three “consolidating” and “blessing-conferring” sovereigns of the Isle of Britain; another says that his stock or clan was one of the three saintly clans of Britain (ousting Caw from the genuine Triad); and another, that he “was the first who brought the Faith in Christ to the nation of the Welsh from Rome, where he had been seven years as hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans had taken prisoner.”³ He was “the first of the Welsh nation that was converted to the Faith in Christ,” as well as the first to bring that Faith hither, “on which latter account he was called Brân the Blessed”; and with him came Ilid and Cyndaf, “men of Israel,” and Arwystli Hên, “a man of Italy.” Llandaff was “his church,” that is, he was its founder and patron. Of his stock or clan were SS. Eigen (daughter of Caradog), Lleurwg, Ffagan, Dyfan, Medwy, Elfan, Tudwal, and others.⁴

Among “the stanzas of the Achievements” occurs the following—

The achievement of Brân, the son of Llyr Llediaith,
Against the evil of perishing in the desert,
Was the planting of the Faith in Christ by a holy law.⁵

And one of “the Sayings of the Wise” runs—

Hast thou heard the saying of Brân
The Blessed to the renowned?
“There is none good save God alone.”⁶
(Nid da ond Duw ei hunan.)

A farmhouse in Glamorgan, called Tre Frân, is pointed out as having been the place where he resided, not far from which is Llanilid founded by “the man of Israel.” Bryn Caradog is also in the neighbourhood.

The whole story is one of the “fond things of vain imagining,” without the slightest foundation in fact, and is a late forgery committed by somebody ignorant of Tacitus and Dion Cassius. Neither of these writers knew anything of the mythical Brân, whose equally mythical

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 8.

² *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 402, 404.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 100, 115, 135, 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 263

son, Caradog, has been assumed to be the Caratacus, or rather Caratacus (Caradog), the famous leader of the Silures and Ordovices against the Romans, who was taken captive to Rome by Ostorius Scapula in 51. Dion Cassius¹ tells us that Caratacus was a son of Cunobelinus (Cynfelyn), who had died before the war with the Romans had begun, and whose two sons, Caratacus and Togodumnus, had succeeded him on the throne. Tacitus,² whilst particularizing the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caratacus, makes no reference whatever to his father, whom he could not have passed over had he been present.

The Third Series of the Triads, which is hardly earlier than the sixteenth century, and the Glamorgan hagiological documents (of no earlier date), printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, are responsible for Brân's saintship and the figment of the evangelising of Britain through him and his family, as the result of Caradog's captivity at Rome. Lewis Morris, who, in 1760, compiled the alphabetical catalogue of the Welsh Saints in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, from a large collection of saintly pedigrees, evidently knew nothing of him as a saint, for he is not mentioned therein at all.

The true Brân, however, is to be met with, figuring largely, in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen. He is there³ called Bendigeidfran, "the Blessed Brân"; but he could not by any possibility be styled "Blessed" in the ordinary hagiological sense. He is clearly one of the old gods of the Celtic pantheon, and the epithet must be regarded as a survival therefrom. He was so big that "no house could ever contain" him, and "he was never known to be within a house." "There was no ship that could contain him in it," and so he wades across the sea from Wales to Ireland. He is wounded there with a poisoned dart, and he orders his followers to cut off his head and bear it as far as the White Mount, *i.e.* the Tower Hill, in London, and bury it there with the face towards France, as a charm against foreign invasion, but it was disinterred by King Arthur.

The *Mabinogi* gives him a son, Caradog, and this, coupled with the epithet "Blessed," led to the invention of the story that he was father of the historical Caradog, and "the first that brought the Faith in Christ to the nation of the Welsh."

Professor Rhys regards him as one of the dark divinities, the counterpart of the Gaulish Cernunnos and the Roman Janus.⁴ His father,

¹ Lib. lx, cc. 20, 21.

² *Annales*, lib. xii, cc. 35, 36.

³ So also in the *Mabinogi* of Manawyddan and the *Red Book Triads*.

⁴ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 346; *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 93-7. Elton, in his *Origins*, pp. 291-2, treats him as a war-god.

Llyr, and his brother, Manawyddan, and sister, Branwen, are all mythological characters.

The Brân story, with all its details, has been described as forming "what is perhaps (next to Geoffrey of Monmouth's performances) the most impudent forgery in Welsh literature."¹

S. BRANWALADER, Abbot, Confessor

BRANWALADER is invoked in the tenth century Litany of S. Vougay in that from Rheims, published by Mabillon, and in the Exeter Litany of the same period in the Salisbury Library, published by Warren.² M. Loth, in an article on these Celtic Litanies says:—"Brangualatre, Branwalatre. This Saint seems to be the same as S. Brelade in Jersey, and S. Broladre in the ancient diocese of Dol. He has given his name to Loc-Brevelaire in Léon; in the sixteenth century Loc-Brevalayz, which leads to an early Breton form Brewalatre, and probably Brenwalatre or Branwalatre."³

Loc-Brevelaire is stated by M. Pol de Courcy to have been described in mediæval documents as Monasterium Sti. Brendani, but no references are given.⁴

Both Albert le Grand⁵ and Lobineau identify the two. The Breviary of S. Malo of 1768 does so as well.

Against the identification is the fact that the names apparently have little in common, but this shall be considered presently. In 935 Athelstan translated the body, or relics, of S. Branwalader, together with the arm and pastoral staff of S. Samson, to Milton in Dorsetshire. The day of commemoration of this Translation was January 19.

William of Worcester mentions Branwalader under the name of Branwalan. He says that the body then reposed "at Branston, eight miles from Axminster, and four miles from the South Sea." William of Worcester's writing is peculiarly crabbed. The original MS. is in

¹ Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 126.

² Litany of S. Vougay, see Albert le Grand, *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, new ed. Quimper, 1901, pp. 224-227. Rheims Litany, Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, ed. Paris, 1723, ii, p. 667. Exeter Litany, Warren, *Revue Celtique*, 1888, p. 88, *et seq.*

³ *Revue Celtique*, 1890, p. 139.

⁴ *Cartulaire de Redon*, 1863, p. 579.

⁵ "S. Brandan, que nos Bretons appellent Sant Brevalazr," Le Grand, *ed. cit.*, p. 591.

Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, and Nasmith printed it fairly accurately in 1778.¹

Branston is Branscombe, and it is a quarter of a mile, and not four miles from the sea.

Leland calls the Saint, Brampalator, and speaks of a chapel of S. Breword near the shore at Seaton, between Axminster and Branscombe.²

There can be little doubt that Breword is the same as Branwalader, and the chapel may have marked a resting-place of the relics, when being translated.

The name Brennain, which has become Brendan, means a shower. This adhered to the Saint in Ireland, and in those parts of Armorica where there was a considerable Irish settlement. But the Britons would seem to have changed the Bren into Bran, a raven, and to have tacked on to it the epithet Gwalader. Gwaladr, in Welsh, is a leader or ruler. It was by no means unusual for saints to have two names. Brendan was not the Saint's baptismal name, which was Mobi.

S. Cadoc's original name was Cathmail, that of S. Meven was Conaid; Kenan was known as Coledoc, one Fintan was also called Munna, a second Berach; Cronan was also known as Mochua, Carthach as Mochuda, Darerca is likewise known as Monenna. Kentigern is one with Munghu, and the great teacher of saints at Ty Gwyn is known as Ninnidh or Maucan. Celtic personal names consist of a substantive to which an adjective or a qualifying substantive is annexed. Brangwalader means the Raven Lord. Gwlad in Modern Welsh means "country"; in Old Welsh it signified "power, authority," from a root "vald," whence also English "wield," German "walten," etc. Gwaladr is "one possessed of power," "a ruler." We have the same in composition in Cadwaladr.

Branwalader appears in Breton and British Litanies only. In the Irish Martyrologies such a name does not occur, but Brendan or rather Brennain.

In Brittany S. Branwalader receives local commemoration on the day of S. Brendan, May 16. MS. Missal of S. Malo, fifteenth century; Breviary of S. Malo, 1537; Breviary of Dol, 1769, on July 5; Breviary of Léon, 1516; Garaby also May 16, as Brendan or Broladre. He is the S. Brelade of Jersey, and the S. Broladre of Ille-et-Vilaine. Hampson's Cal. Jan. 19, so also the Cals. of Winchester and Malmesbury.

¹ The passage is not distinctly written and turned in by the original binder after the letter n.

² Leland, *Coll.*, iv, 82; *Itin.*, iii, 58.

S. BREACA, Virgin, Abbess

LELAND (*Itin.*, iii, p. 15), quoting from a Life of this saint in use in Breage Church, Cornwall, says that she was one of the company of Irish Saints that arrived under the conduct of S. Sinninus the abbot, *i.e.* of S. Senan of Inis Cathy. She was born in "the parts of Leinster and Ulster," and was associated with S. Brigid in the foundation of a community in these parts.

The whole passage runs as follows, a summary of what he found in the now lost *Vita Sanctae Breacae*.

Barricius socius Patricii, ut legitur in vita Sti. Wymeri. Sta. Breaca nata in partibus Lagoniae et Ultoniae. Campus Breacae in Hibernia in quo Brigida oratorium construxit, et postea Monasterium, in quo fuit Sta. Breaca.

Breaca venit in Cornubiam comitata multis Sanctis, inter quos fuerunt Sinninus Abbas, qui Romae cum Patricio fuit; Maruanus monachus, Germochus rex, Elwen, Crewenna, Helena.

Breaca appulit sub Rivyer cum suis, quorum partem occidit Tewder.

Breaca venit ad Pencair.

Breaca venit ad Trenewith.

Breaca aedificavit eccl. in Trenewith et Talmeneth, ut legitur in vita Sti. Elwini.

Now who was this Breaca? Breaca is but a Latin form of Brig, or Breeg, as the name is pronounced alike in Cornwall and in Ireland. There were several female saints of this name.

Brig was Virgin Abbess of Killbrig, and was a pupil of S. Brigid. Some doubt exists as to her father's name, whether it were Cairpre or Finlug. The glossator on the Martyrology of Oengus says the former.

In the *Book of Leinster* she is said to have been the daughter of Fergus. But Brig, daughter of Fergus, was sister of Brennan, father of S. Boethin. Another brother was S. Brendan of Clonfert. Although called his sister, she may have been a half-sister, and this would account for her being called in one place the daughter of Fergus, and he being described as a son of Finlug.

S. Brigid founded Kildare in 480 and died in 525. S. Brendan was ninety-six when he died in 577, consequently he was born in 481. If Brig was a half-sister, by a second marriage, she may have been younger by some years. Brendan paid his sister a visit before his death, and gave her a parting kiss. She was accordingly not at this time in Cornwall.

This throws Brig, sister of Brendan, too late.

According to her Life, as summarized by Leland, Breaca came to Cornwall with Senan. He died in 554. He travelled much in his early days. Now Senan was in close communication with a holy virgin of the name of Brig or Brigid, daughter of Cu Cathrach, of the Hy Machtail

sept, who had her church at Cluain Infide, on the banks of the Shannon. The story is told of her that she had a chasuble she desired to present to Senan, but having no messenger she made a little basket of holly twigs, put moss in it, and then packed into it the chasuble as well as a letter entreating him to come and communicate her. Then she cast the little hamper into the river, and said to the stream, "Bear that with thee to Iniscathy." Actually the basket was washed up on the bank of the islet, and was taken to Senan, who at once took measures to comply with her request. As she was short of salt as well, he sent her that likewise. According to the form in which the legend reaches us, he committed two bars of salt and the Blessed Sacrament to the Shannon to carry it back, in the same basket. It is not difficult to see that this is a miraculous gloss on a very simple incident. Brig sent down a messenger in a coracle of plaited holly twigs, to make the request known to the Abbot, and to offer him her present, and by the same vehicle he sent to her what she desired.¹

Another with whom Brig came to Cornwall was Finbar, or Baricius as he is also called. Finbar's death is usually put far too late, he was a friend of S. Senan, and we are inclined to hold that he did not die later than 560. Now Finbar is expressly stated to have had a congregation of holy women over whom presided a Her and a Brigid.²

Her we take to be Hy or Ia who came to Cornwall, and Brigid may be the same Brigid who was at one time under the direction of S. Senan. In the Life of S. Monynna we read of one of the sisters whose name was Brig, who was greatly trusted by her.³

One evening after she had been sent to the dormitory, she rose and approached the cell of her superior, when she saw two swans flying over it, and came to the conclusion that they were angels who had visited Monynna.⁴ In punishment for inquisitiveness she was struck blind.

The name Brig, Brignat, or Briget, all forms of the same name, was so common in Ireland, and there are so many saints so called, that with the limited information we possess, it is not possible to fix, with anything approaching to certainty, which of them was she who came over to Cornwall.

All the particulars we learn from Leland are that she was at one

¹ Book of Lismore, *Anecd. Oxon.*, pp. 218-9.

² O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, ix, p. 561. We have been unable to find the authority. The list of disciples is not in the Life in the Kilkenny Book, of which we have obtained a transcript.

³ "Inter alias Dei famulas quædam virgo, nomine Brignat, cum sancta virgine cohabitasse traditur." Vitæ SS. Hib., *Cod. Sal.*, col. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 179. See further under Brigid of Cilmuine.

time in the community of S. Brigid at Kildare and that she was a native of that district.

Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, says, "The religious women that were known by the name of Bridget were fourteen, and were as follows: Bridget, daughter of Dioma; Bridget, daughter of Maianaig; Bridget, daughter of Momhain; Bridget, daughter of Eana; Bridget, daughter of Colla; Bridget, daughter of Eathair Ard; Bridget, of Inis Bride; Bridget, the daughter of Diamair; Bridget, the daughter of Seannbotha; Bridget, daughter of Fiadnait; Bridget, daughter of Hugh (Aed); Bridget, daughter of Luinge; Bridget, daughter of Fiochmaine; Bridget, daughter of Flainge."¹

But this by no means exhausts them. There was a Brigid, daughter of Comgall, "mother of the daughters of Christ in the province of Leinster." When S. Brigid of Kildare visited her, the latter washed the holy mother's feet, and a nun who suffered from gout was cured by this water.²

The *Book of Leinster* gives these Brigs as disciples of S. Brigid:—Brig, daughter of Fergus, at Cill-Brig, and this was near Kildare. Another was the daughter of Amalgaid, in Achad Eda, this is Huachtarard in Kildare. Colgan adds others, Brig, daughter of Doma (February 7), a daughter of Mainach, another of Manan (June 24), another of Enda, another of Colla, Brigid of Inis Brig, another of Fithmuine; the daughter of Murdach, and of Rathbrig near Curah of Kildare; and the daughter of Eochaid and of Magluinge.

Consequently the statement made by Leland that Breaca was a disciple of S. Brigid does not help us much.

Her companions, he tells us, were Senan, Maruan (Mo-Ruan) Germoc the King, Elwen, Crewenna, and Helena. There were more, and among these Achebran, Tressan, and Gibrian, and as we have already seen (*under* S. ACHEBRAN) we can pretty well fix the date when seven of the swarm arrived at Rheims, *i.e.* 509.

This would give the close of the fifth century, or the very beginning of the sixth, as the date of their arrival in Cornwall, approximately 500. If this be the date, it excludes the half-sister of S. Brendan, who survived him.

When the party came over to Cornwall, and arrived in Hayle Bay, Tewdrig resisted their landing. They however made their way to Reyvier, where he had a castle, to ask permission to settle. Reyvier is on a creek just west of Phillack Church, "now as some think drowned with sand," says Leland.³

¹ Keating, *Hist. Ireland*, tr. O'Connor, Dublin, 1841; ii, p. 66.

² Colgan, *Trias Thaumal.*, p. 530.

³ *Itin.*, iii, p. 18.

Tewdrig killed some of the party, and Breaca fled to Pencaer, a fortification on Tregonning Hill, that may still be seen. Thence she went to Trenewith now Chenoweth, and thence to Talmeneth (the mountain's end) where the site of her chapel is still shown. She founded oratories in all these places. That at Pencaer can no longer be traced.

What militates against identifying Breaca with the Brig who was sent by Monynna to acquire a rule in Britain, is that this latter is said to have lost her sight.¹

Breage is the mother church of Cury, Germoe, and Gunwalloe. Cury and Gunwalloe were cut out of this extensive parish at a later period, but still render a pecuniary acknowledgment to the mother church. Penbro was the ancient name of Breage Church town. The castle occupied by Breaca in Pencaer was afterwards known as Caer Conan, according to Leland. William of Worcester says: " Sancta Breaca (Nasmith prints incorrectly Branca) Virgo, dies agitur die primo die (*sic*) . . . jacet in ecclesia predictae sanctae, per III miliaria Montis Michaelis." William of Worcester began the name of the month, and then cancelled it.

The old feast day of S. Breaca is said to have been June 4, but now it is held on the third Monday in June, *i.e.* the nearest to the Feast, O.S. There is also a feast at Breage on December 26.

In the Irish Calendars, Brig, sister of Brendan, and abbess of Annadown is commemorated on January 7. Brig, daughter of Dioma, on February 7, but also on March 9, and May 21. Another of Moin Miolaine on the same day. Brigid of Cluain, in Derry, on August 13. Brigid of Cluainfidhe, who was Senan's disciple, on September 30. This is the most probable Brigid or Brig to be identified with Breaca, who is said to have come to Cornwall with S. Senan. Another Brigid of Cil Muine, or S. David's, Pembrokeshire, was commemorated in the Irish Calendars on November 12. This is probably the pupil of S. Monynna sent over there to obtain a Rule of Life.

S. BRENDA, Confessor

S. BRENDAF or Brenda was one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glannog, whose territory was inundated by the sea, whereupon they became saints or monks in the Bangor in Maelor (on the Dee). After the de-

¹ Vita SS. Hib., *Cod. Sal.*, col. 187.

struction of the latter some of them, including Brenda, became saints in the Bangor in Bardsey.¹

The couplet in the *Stanzas of the Months* by the pseudo-Aneurin, which runs—

Truly saith S. Brenda (*al.* Breda),
 "Evil is not less resorted to than good,"²

is more probably to be attributed to the great S. Brendan, abbot of Clonfert.

S. BRENDAN, Abbot, Confessor

S. BRENDAN of Clonfert was the son of Finlug and Cara, and his baptismal name was Mobi.

Mobhi his name at first,
 (Given) by (his) parents—fair his face;
 A youth hostful, inquisitive, slim,
 He was a help to the men of Erin.³

Owing, however, to a silvery light, the Aurora Borealis, that was seen when he was born, he was commonly called Broen-finn, the White Rain. Broenan, the diminutive, would mean a shower.

He was born in the Fenit, a township of Kerry, six miles west of Tralee, on the northern shore of its harbour, consisting of a promontory called Fenit Without, and an adjoining peninsula, called Fenit Within. It was formerly a district of some renown, and was the resort and trysting place of the Fianna, or Fian Militia of Ireland, who have left abundant traces there of their hearths and kitchen middens. The coast is wild and rugged, beaten by the Atlantic, and it was here, in his early youth, that Brendan imbibed that love of the ocean which seems to have held him till too old for more voyaging and venturing on the perils of the deep.⁴

On the night that Brendan was born, Bishop Erc was in the neighbourhood, probably at Kilvicideaghadh, and looking over the district of the Fenit and the waters of what was afterwards called S. Brendan's Bay, he watched the silvery shooting rays of the Aurora, with wonder and admiration. When, afterwards, he was summoned to baptize the

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 124; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419.

² *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 21, 419.

³ "Life" in the "Book of Lismore," *Anecd. Oxoniens.*, p. 248.

⁴ O'Donoghue (D.), *S. Brendan the Voyager*, Dublin, 1893, p. 41. Finlug was one of the race of Ciarr, whose descendants, the Ciarraighes, gave their name to Kerry. *Ogygia*, p. 276.

child of Finlug on the Fenit, he accepted this magnetic display as a happy omen of the child's future celebrity.

The place of the baptism of Brendan was, apparently, Tubber-na-molt, in the parish of Ardfert, a spring to which probably in Pagan times great veneration had been paid, and Erc, following the example of S. Patrick, unable to eradicate the superstitious devotion to wells, sought to consecrate them, by converting them into baptisteries. As a fee for performing the Sacrament of Regeneration, Erc received from Finlug three wethers, which have given their name to the well. Erc begged that the child, when a year old and weaned, might be given to be fostered to S. Itha, who at that time had a house at Tubrid Beg, five miles from Tralee.

Brendan is often called Mac-hua-Alta, as his great grandfather was Alta, from whom came the Altraighe, and as it was necessary to distinguish him from his contemporary, Brendan of Birr, who was son of Neman.¹

Brendan remained with Itha for five years, *i.e.* till 488, for he was born in 483. Throughout his life, Brendan continued devoted to her, and consulted her in all his difficulties.

Angels in the shape of white virgins
Were fostering Brenain,
From one hand to another (he was passed)
Without disgrace to the babe.²

His sister was Brig, and to her he was warmly attached.

When Brendan was six years old, Bishop Erc took him about with him on his missionary rounds, in his car. Erc had descended from his vehicle one day at O'Brenna, in the barony of Trughanacme,³ and began his sermon to the assembled people, leaving the boy in the chariot. Now it chanced that a little girl, "gentle, modest, and flaxen-haired, of a princely family, drew nigh to the carriage close to him," and wishing to have a game, attempted to scramble up the wheel, to reach him. Brendan, however, who had the reins in his hand, lashed her with them, and drove her off.

This little by-play distracted the attention of the audience, and Erc seeing the eyes of the people directed elsewhere, turned sharply round, and saw what was going on in the rear. He was mightily offended, gave Brendan a scolding, and consigned him to the black hole for the night. The boy spent his time in shouting psalms, and Erc, mollified,

¹ He is so called in the *Life of S. Columba* by Adamnan, ed. Reeves, pp. 55. 220; by Tighernach, 559; *Chron. Scot.*, 554; *Vita Tripart. S. Patr.*, p. 208, etc.

² "Book of Lismore," *Anc. Oxon.*, p. 249.

³ O'Donoghue, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

soon let him out. The pit or cave, Uaimh Brenainn, pointed out by tradition as the place of his confinement, was a few years ago destroyed by quarrymen.¹

After some years spent with Erc learning "the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments," Brendan asked leave to depart so that he might make a compilation of the Monastic Rules observed by the several great Abbots in Ireland. Itha, whom he consulted, very prudently recommended him not to visit the religious houses of women, under the plea of inquiring into their regulations, as he was a young man, and this might be productive of scandal.²

On leaving Erc, Brendan fell in with one Colman MacLenin, with whom he made friends, and whom he induced to abandon the military profession and embrace that of religion. Colman founded the church of Cloyne, and died in 604; ³ the date of the death, however, is either wrong, or else the Colman Brendan converted was another of the same name.

After that, Brendan entered Connaught and attached himself to S. Jarlath, who at the time had a school at Clonfois, not far from Kilbannon. "And Brendan learned from him all the rules of the Saints of Erin." For some unexplained reason Brendan persuaded Jarlath to shift his quarters to where is now Tuam. It was the property of Eoghain Beal MacDuach (502-538), son of Duach Teangumbha, king of Connaught, who was induced to part with it, when Jarlath undertook as "full price" that MacDuach should receive in exchange "Heaven and abundance without stint, and an eternal place in my corner of Heaven."

Brendan and Jarlath between them composed a hymn on Tuam, in which they promised that no one buried in its churchyard should go to hell.⁴

Brendan now left Jarlath, and proceeded to the plain of Ai, in the present County of Roscommon, to which part of his own clan had migrated a little before, under the patronage of S. Caoilin, who had great influence with King Aedh MacEochaidh, and who induced him to grant her this tract for the settlement in it of the overflow of her clansmen from Kerry. In the Latin Life in the *Salamanca Codex* ⁵

¹ O'Donoghue, p. 59.

² "Book of Lismore," *Anec. Oxon.*, p. 251.

³ A story relative to the conversion of S. Colman is in the *Book of Munster*, but it contains an anachronism, it represents S. Ailbe as already dead. Now Ailbe died in 527 or 533, and either the conversion is put down in the *Life of S. Brendan* too early by some ten or twenty years, or the story is fable.

⁴ Given in Notes on the "Life" of S. Brendan, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. viii (New Series, 1871-2), and in O'Donoghue, pp. 21-2.

⁵ Vita 2da, *Cod. Sal.*, col. 763. There is a chronological difficulty here. Aedh

we are told that the king offered some of the land to Brendan, but he declined it.

It was here that Brendan completed his compilation of Monastic Rules. According to the legendary account in the *Lives* he received it from an angel, but the context plainly indicates that he drew it up from Jarlath and other noted abbots in Connaught.

This completed, he returned to Erc and was ordained priest by him. "Thenceforth the love of God grew exceedingly in his heart, and he desired to leave his country and land, and parents and family, and he earnestly besought the Lord to grant him some place, secret, retired, secure, delightful, and far apart from men."¹

However, he first founded sundry monasteries in his own district and among his own kinsfolk.²

One of these was at the foot of Brandon Hill, on the west, and there for seven years he had under his training S. Finan Cam, probably a relative. At the end of this time some disagreement ensued between them, which is disguised by the biographer, who says that Brendan said to him, "Brother Finan, it is not fitting that we should be any longer in one place, but that we should keep our communities apart. If you choose to remain here, do so, in God's name, and I will go." "No, father," answered Finan, "I am the younger and I will no longer trespass on you. I will depart." And he left for Slieve-Bloom, and founded Kinnulty in King's County. There was clearly a hot quarrel and a final rupture.³

Brandon Hill is 3,127 feet high, and to the summit Brendan often retired. "All the bold hills from Aran to Kenmare, that go out to meet the waves, are visible from its summit. The rocky islets of the Skelligs and the Moheres are the sentinels that guard its base. Inland the spectator can cast his gaze over half the south of Ireland—mountain and valley, lake and stream, plain and town, stretching far away to the east and south. But the eye ever turns seaward to the grand panorama presented by the ultimate ocean. No such view can be had elsewhere in the British Islands; and Brendan, whilst dwelling on the mountain summit, saw it in all its varying moods—at early morning when the glory of the sun was first diffused over its wide reaches; at

Mac Eochaidh is thought to have reigned 544-555. He was the *third* king of Connaught after Eoghain Beal, mentioned above. The dates are not however sure, other authorities give 551-577.

¹ Life in *Book of Lismore*, p. 252.

² "Deinde cellas et monasteria fundavit in sua propria regione, sed non plura." Life in so-called *Book of Kilkenney*.

³ *Vita ex Cod. Inisensi* in Franciscan Convent, Dublin.

midnight, when the stars swept round the pole ; at even, above all, at even—when the setting sun went home to the caverns beneath the sea, and the line of light along the glowing west seemed a road of living gold to the Fortunate Islands where the sorrows of earth never enter, and peace and beauty for ever dwell. . . To this day the existence of Brazil, an enchanted land of joy and beauty, which is seen sometimes on the blue rim of the ocean, is very confidently believed in by the fishermen on our western coasts.”¹

The monastery of Brendan at its foot was Shankeel (Sean-cill), “ the Old Church,” where there are to this day remains of cloghans, ancient bee-hive cells. To the summit of the mountain ascends Casan na Naomh, the “ Pathway of the Saints,” a causeway carried over bog and hill from Kilmelchedor Church, a distance of seven miles. There are ruins of a church on the summit.

At this period the Saint sought to found a monastery near Tralee, but, according to popular tradition, a bird carried off the line with which he was measuring the foundations, and conveyed it to where is now Ardfert, and where, accepting the omen, Brendan established a settlement.²

The imagination of Brendan was fired by the sight of the vast ocean to the west, and of the sun setting beyond it. Probably for some years the desire to explore that mysterious waste of water had possessed him. Several causes led to its finally resolving itself into action.

According to the *Navigatio*, he met an abbot of the name of Barinth, a grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Barinth told him a long story to this effect. A pupil of his, Mernoc, had deserted his monastery, and had settled in a rocky islet. After a while, Barinth, hearing that Mernoc was gathering disciples about him, visited him and found him and his community living on roots and nuts and apples in a very wild inhospitable spot. But Mernoc had an idea, and persuaded his old master to accompany him on a voyage to the setting sun in quest of the Land of Promise. Barinth and the rest started in a boat, but were after a while enveloped in a sea fog. Finally they reached a fertile land, and travelled through it for fifteen days till they arrived on the banks of a wide river. They then turned back, remounted their boat, and in course of time made the islet from which they had started.³

¹ Healy (J. B.), *Insula Sanctorum*, Dublin, 1896, p. 214.

² O'Hanlon (J. Canon), *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. v, p. 443.

³ *Navigatio*, ed. Moran. In an article in the *Revue Celtique*, xxii, p. 339, Mr. A. C. L. Brown attempts to identify Barinth with the Celtic sea-god Mannan Mac Lyr. Geoffrey of Monmouth introduces him as piloting King Arthur to the Fortunate Isles. Geoffrey adopted Barinth from the popular *Navigatio Sti. Brendani*.

If Brendan had felt hitherto any hesitation about undertaking the voyage of exploration, this was removed by a singularly untoward accident.

Brendan had gone to an islet in a boat, and on landing left a boy in charge of it. Presently when the tide turned, and the wind freshened, the lad's brother, who accompanied Brendan, told his master that the little fellow was not man enough to hold the boat. Brendan testily rebuked him and wished him bad luck for so saying, but when his disciple persisted, sent him back. The young man found his brother vainly struggling with the boat; and hastening to his assistance, was himself swept away by a wave and was drowned. Brendan's conscience reproached him for his conduct in the matter, which he must have frankly acknowledged, for there was no one now alive to give evidence of the bad words he had used. Moreover, the drowning of the young man was likely to entail unpleasant consequences on himself, as the kindred would be certain to take the matter up, and demand heavy compensation.

Brendan, in this difficulty, visited his foster-mother Itha; and she counselled him to quit Ireland and remain abroad till the resentment caused by this lamentable affair had abated.¹

Brendan now took with him fourteen of his monks and crossed to Aran Mor to discuss the matter with S. Enda. After a brief tarry there of three days only, he returned to Ardfert, or to the Abbey under Brandon Hill, and set to work to construct his boats. Of these there were to be three, each to contain twenty men. The vessels were very light, of osier twigs woven together, and covered with tanned hides. Brendan took with him, further, provisions for forty days, and fresh skins; also butter wherewith to grease them.² Each coracle had three sails of hide and three banks of oars.

Then they started with a favourable wind, on or about March 22, which is the day entered in the Irish Martyrologies as the "Egressio familie Sti. Brendani."³

The three boats made for the point where the summer sun sets. The

¹ *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 12.

² Sanctus Brendanus et qui cum eo erant, acceptis ferramentis, fecerunt naviculam costatam et columnatam ex vimine, sicut mos est in illis partibus, et cooperuerunt eam coriis bovinis ac rubricatis in cortice roborina, linieruntque foris omnes juncturas navis . . . Butirium ad pelles preparandas assumpserunt ad cooperimentum navis." *Navigatio*, ed. Moran, p. 90. There is some difference as to the number who accompanied Brendan. In the *Life in the Book of Lismore* we are told there were twenty in each boat, i.e., sixty in all. In the *Metrical Life* the number is raised to thirty in each. Oengus in his *Litanies* says, "Sexaginta comitati sunt S. Brendanum."

³ Mart. of Oengus; Mart. of Tallagh.

favourable wind lasted for twelve days ; after which they rowed, till they were exhausted. Presently a wind again sprang up, and they were carried along by it without knowing in which direction they were drifting.¹

Before proceeding further, it will be well to draw attention to the distinction that exists between the *Acta Sti. Brendani* and the *Navigatio Sti. Brendani*, two very different documents.

The best Life is that in the so-called *Kilkenny Book*, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, and this has been printed by the Rev. P. F. Moran, bishop of Ossory, and afterwards Cardinal.² There is an Irish Life in the *Book of Lismore*, published in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1890). A second Latin *Acta* is in the *Codex Salamanticensis*, cols. 113-154, but this is actually a *Navigatio*. A second *Vita* in the same Codex is in cols. 758-772, and this is a Life, as is also that in the *Book of Lismore*.

The Life in the *Kilkenny Book* and the second *Vita* in the *Salamanca Codex* are free from the marvels contained in the *Navigatio*, with the sole exception of one story of Brendan and the bull-seals, about which later on. They merely say that he visited many islands that were uninhabited, and that after five years' absence he returned.³ There is also a *Vita Metrica Sti. Brendani* in the *Cotton MSS.* in the British Museum, published by Moran, but it relates mainly the adventures of the voyage.

The *Navigatio* was first printed by Jubinal in 1836 from a MS. in the National Library, Paris ; but many others exist, indeed there is hardly a great public library in Europe that does not contain MS. copies of it. In the National Library at Paris there are no less than eleven.

The *Navigatio* is an attempt at a Christian *Imram*. Among the ancient Irish there existed a whole class of tales of marvellous voyages. The *Imrama* were such navigations as were voluntarily undertaken, the *Longasa* such as were made on compulsion. The *Book of Leinster* mentions as many as seven of these. Of these five still exist. Finding how popular this class of story was, some Christian writer composed an *Imram* that might be edifying—the *Navigatio Brendani*.

The *Navigatio* is a veritable Sinbad-the-Sailor romance, but it is in all probability an embroidery of fancy over some threads of fact. What these threads are, we will make an attempt to discover.

As we have already seen, Brendan started in a N.E. direction. After having lost his direction, and being carried by the wind, he knew not

¹ *Acta Sti. Brendani*, ed. P. Moran, Dublin, 1872.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Multas in mari nactus est insulas, homines vero nullos. Quinquennium equora perlustravit." *Acta in Cod. Sal.*, coll. 764-5.

whither, at the end of forty days he sighted land, lying due north, very rocky and lofty. On nearing it, he and his fellow travellers saw only precipitous cliffs with streams spilling over them into the sea.¹ Nor was there any harbour visible. They coasted along for three days, and on the third discovered a port into which they thrust their vessels. Brendan blessed the harbour.

The description accords remarkably with the appearance of the south-west coast of Iceland. The little group of the Westmann Islands lies off it, and the inhabitants dare not venture to the mainland, unless a stream that issues from a glacier and shoots over a bluff, falls in an unbroken silver thread to the sea. Brendan coasted along the black cliffs till he reached the great Faxa Fjord, and put into one of the little harbours there. On landing, one of the brothers died of exhaustion and privations, and was buried.

Although we are not told so, the voyagers probably wintered there, for we next hear of them taking to their boats again and landing on another island to celebrate Easter.

That Irish monks did inhabit Iceland before it was colonized by the Northmen we know from independent testimony. The *Landnámabók* informs us that Irish bells, books, and other relics were found there; and the *Íslendinga Bok* says that Irish clerics were there when the colonists arrived in 870, and only then departed.²

Before Easter the voyagers landed on an island, on which they found sheep.³ Having killed one, and furnished the boats with meat and water, they committed themselves once more to the sea, and next landed on an island so swarming with sea-fowl that they called it the Paradise of Birds, Foula, Shetland Isles. Here they celebrated Pentecost.

One of the most extraordinary and impossible stories in the narrative is that of their disembarking on an island "where there was no grass, very little wood, and no sand." On this the brethren landed, and lighted a fire, when the island began to move, and proved to be a monstrous whale. It has been suggested by Mr. O'Donoghue that where the party landed was the island of Illaumaníel, in the Magharee

¹ "Apparuit eis quedam insula ex parte septentrionali, valde saxosa et alta . . . Cum appropinquassent ad litus, viderunt ripam altissimam sicut murum, et diversos rivulos descendentes de summitate insule, fluentes in mare." *Navig.* ed. Moran, p. 92.

² *Íslendinga Sögur*, Copenh., 1843, i, pp. 23-4; also p. 266. *Íslendinga Bok*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

³ Possibly the Faroe Isles, the name Faereyar means Sheep Isles. Here also Irish hermits had settled. See Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes*, Munich, 1855, i, pp. 44-5.

group of islands, off the coast of Galway. The name signifies Whale Isle, and it is peculiarly shaped, like one of these leviathans of the deep. It has in it, moreover, a blow hole, into which the Atlantic rollers thunder and whence send forth a spout of foam into the air much like the spouting of a whale.

If all Brendan desired was to keep clear of the mainland, and pursuit, in consequence of the death of his pupil, it would quite satisfy his purpose to spend Easter on Whale Isle, and the fancy of the romancers ran riot over the name.¹ He spent Christmas on an island with S. Ailbe, who is described as being at the time very aged and with his hair quite white. Ailbe died in 527 or 531.

There is extant a Life of S. Ailbe, but it says nothing of a retreat to a distant island, but that he should spend his retreat in one just off the coast would be in accordance with the custom of the Celtic Saints. And what is curious is, that just about this time, possibly fired by what he had heard from Brendan of Iceland, he purposed to retire there himself, and would have done so had not Aengus MacNadfraich, king of Munster, intervened.²

Brendan remained with Ailbe till the Octave of the Epiphany, and then took boat again, and allowed the currents to carry him where they would, "sine navigio, sine velo," till the beginning of Lent. Then they took in a fresh supply of food and water, and sailed or rowed again, but had to land on account of rough weather, and spend three months on an island, living on a whale that had been cast ashore. The second Christmas to the feast of the Purification was spent with S. Ailbe.

It was, we are expressly told, in the third year of Brendan's exile that he visited Gildas at Ruys.³

On the supposition that there is a substratum of fact under the intolerable amount of fable in the *Navigatio*, we may place here the next incident, the arrival of Brendan and his party on an island where was a large monastic establishment.⁴ The island was fairly level and not rocky. It was entirely treeless. Here they found an abbey and a church, in which three choirs sang the divine service alternately. The order of recitation of the psalms is somewhat minutely described.

At Sext, Psalm lxvii, Deus misereatur, Psalm lxx, Deus in adjutorium, and Psalm cxvi, 10, Credidi propter, with its proper prayer.

¹ S. *Brendan the Voyager*, p. 94.

² Vita Sti. Albei, in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 257. The island is there called Dele, i.e. Thule.

³ "Post tres annos in illa peregrinatione Sanctus Brendanus ad illum locum pervenit." *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 13.

⁴ *Navigatio*, ed. Moran, p. 114.

At Nones, Psalm cxxx, De profundis, Psalm cxxxiii, Ecce quam bonum, and Psalm cxlvii, 12, Lauda Jerusalem.

At Vespers, Psalm lxxv, Te decet hymnus, Psalm ciii, Benedic, anima mea, and Psalm cxiii, Laudate pueri.

Then seated, they chanted the Gradual Psalms cxx–cxxxiv. This was sung as darkness closed in.

Then for Prime, Psalm cxlviii, Laudate Dominum, and the two that follow, and these were followed by the twelve psalms to succeed "in the order of the psalter as far as Dixit insipiens," Psalm xiv.

At dawn for Mattins, Psalm li, Miserere mei, Deus, Psalm xc, Domine refugium, and Psalm lxiii, Deus, Deus meus.

At Terce, Psalm xlvii, Omnes gentes, plaudite, Psalm liv, Deus, in Nomine, and Psalm cxvi, Dilexi, quoniam, followed by Alleluia. Then they offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb, and all received the Holy Communion with the words, "This Sacred Body of the Lord, and the Blood of our Saviour, receive unto Life everlasting." ¹

On leaving the island, the travellers were given a basket full of purple fruit (scalithi), probably grapes or whortleberries ² of a remarkable size, which grew on the island, where moreover were white flowers and marigolds.

The island may have been Belle Ile, formerly called Guedel, where there is a Bangor, and where the monastic colony was swept away by the Northmen at the close of the ninth century, when all the inhabitants of the island were massacred or migrated to the mainland. Bangor was never rebuilt. ³

The *Navigatio* does not mention the visit to Ruys. It was in winter when Brendan arrived, ⁴ and we can hardly suppose him engaged in

¹ "Hoc sacrum corpus Domini et Salvatoris nostri sanguinem sumite vobis in vitam eternam." The formula in the *Book of Deer* is, "Corpus cum sanguine Domini nostri J. C. sanitas sit tibi in vitam perpetuam et salutem." In the *Book of Mulling*, "Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri J. C. filii Dei vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam." In the Irish *S. Gall Missal*, "Hoc sacrum corpus Domini et Salvatoris sanguinem, alleluia, sumite vobis in vitam." In the *Bangor Antiphonary*, "Hoc sacrum corpus Domini et Salvatoris sanguinem sumite vobis in vitam perennem. Alleluia." This is almost word for word the form employed in the isle visited by S. Brendan. The form in the *Slow Missal* is, "Hoc sacrum corpus Domini Salvatoris sanguinem, alleluia, sumite vobis in vitam eternam. Alleluia," which is nearer still. Warren (F. E.), *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881.

² "Sgeallag" is used of kernels and berries.

³ Le Mené, *Paroisses de Vannes*, Vannes, 1891, *sub nom.* Le Palais, and Bangor. "Bellam habebat insulam, nomine britannico Guedel appellatam, quam olim Normannorum rabies devastaverat et ejus colonos inde exulaverat." *Cer-tulary of Quimperlé* (1029), Paris, 1896, p. 94.

⁴ "Tunc yems erat." *Vit.*, ed. Moran, p. 13.

lengthy voyage during the storms of that season, or during the equinoctial gales, on that dangerous coast. He must have arrived at Ruys from some island near, such as is Belle Ile. Ruys is situated on the spit of land that, along with the other peninsula of Locmariaquer enclose the Morbihan. The side towards the Atlantic is precipitous, but that towards the inland sea shelves gently down into shallow water. Brendan must have passed through the channel with the sweep of the rising tide, between the points of Arzon and that of Locmariaquer, when he found himself in still water in a broad inland sea studded with sandy islets, on one of which, Gavr Inis, rose the great mound that encloses the marvellous sculptured sepulchral chamber which is one of the wonders of the district. The sloping shore of the Sarzeau arm of land was well timbered.

When the party landed, the weather was inclement; snow was falling and the land was white with the flakes; moreover, the hour was late.¹ Nothing doubting of a hospitable reception, they made their way up the rising ground over a bleak moor, to the monastery of Ruys, over which presided the learned but churlish Gildas.

It was surrounded by a high bank and palisade, and they found the gate shut and barred. Brendan and his party stood without and knocked, but the porter refused to open. Probably it was against rule to admit strangers after sunset, and Gildas was not the man to set aside a regulation because bidden to do so by the principles of Christian charity. If we may trust the account in the Life in the *Salamanca Codex*, the poor shivering monks were constrained to pass the night in the snow outside.

But in the morning, cold, and hungry and angry, Brendan would endure this treatment no longer, and he ordered Talmach, a lusty young disciple, to burst open the gate, and this he did with a hearty good will. Talmach had been a pupil of Mancen at Ty Gwyn, where he had seduced Drustic, a female fellow pupil. It was possibly in consequence of this escapade that he had to leave, and attach himself to S. Brendan.

Marianus O'Gorman styles him "a humble and devoted virgin saint," which shows that the martyrologist was either imperfectly acquainted with Talmach's history, or else that he employed his epithets with lavish charity.

Then Brendan went on with his party to the church, and found that locked as well, and here again he forced the doors. As he desired to

¹ "Minxit illa nocte ingruenter," *Cod. Sal.*, col. 768. "Nix tunc pluit cooperiens terram," *Acta*, ed. Moran, p. 13.

say Mass, he called for a liturgy, and was given one used by Gildas himself, written in Greek characters ; however, Brendan had been well instructed by S. Jarlath and he read from it with ease.¹

Gildas consented to receive Communion from his hands. But the relations between the two Saints were strained, and Brendan would not remain with Gildas more than three nights and days. During that time the brethren amused themselves with a wolf-hunt.

The Life of S. Brendan in the so-called *Kilkenny Book* says that the two Saints parted on good terms, and that Gildas even asked Brendan to remain there and become superior of the monastery. This is very doubtful ; if there be truth in it, it is that Gildas was desirous of returning to Britain, and asked Brendan to take his place while he was away. He would make use of him for his own convenience, but could not be gracious to him.

From Ruys Brendan crossed the still lake-like sea of the Morbihan,

With all its fairy crowds
Of islands that together lie
As quietly as spots of sky
Among the evening clouds.

Perhaps the three coracles were directed up the creek of the Auray river, carried forward by the flush of the rising tide that swelled over the mud flats, without a ripple, and were given direction by a few strokes of the oars. A beautiful river, even in winter. The steep densely wooded hills descended to the glassy flood, russet with the oak leaves still clothing the trees in every fold where sheltered from the blast of the ocean. Here the banks contracted, and then drew back allowing the water to extend to lake-like stretches ; creeks ran on both sides far inland, making it difficult for those drifting inwards to know which was the main river and which the mouth of an affluent. To the left, where the high ground sank to heathery low tracts with lagoon and marsh, could be seen long rows of giant stones set upright, stalking over the waste, like an army of marching men petrified, the relics of a vast necropolis of the primeval inhabitants, monuments even then in the sixth century uncomprehended and invested with mystery. As the three coracles glided on, the mouth was passed of a stream up which the tide was rolling, forming between it and the Auray River a long peninsula on whose top, perhaps at that very

¹ " Et habebat S. Gylldas missalem librum scriptum Graecis litteris, et positus est ille liber super Altare. Et custos templi ex jussione Sti. Gildae dixit Sto. Brendano : Vir Dei, praecepit tibi sanctus senex noster ut offeras corpus Xti ; ecce altare hic est (et) librum Graecis litteris scriptum, et canta in eo sicut abbas noster . . . et cepit missam cantare." *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

time, was dwelling a female anchorite, Ave or Eve, who had come from Britain, bringing with her, after the manner of the Celtic Saints, her lech, the stone on which she would lie for the death agony, and on which to be laid to her last rest. Did she look down on the floating monks from the sister isle, and call to them in salutation, wishing them God-speed? We cannot tell. And then rock and forest intermingled on both sides; the river contracted, and still they slid upwards under the heights, where one day would rise the town of Auray about a church granted to the successors of Gildas, and where his story—all but his insolent treatment of Brendan—would fill the windows in painted picture. A little further up and the coracles grounded, and the tide was of no further avail. Then carrying the light wicker-work boats, the sturdy crew went up the river, dwindled now to an insignificant stream, and possibly made a protracted lodgment at Brandivy,¹ where, from the name, we may suspect that Brendan formed a settlement, but where his connection with it was forgotten when a later Saxon Saint Ywy planted himself on the same site, two centuries after. Near this was Plouvigner, the Plou of Fingar, an Irishman of royal descent. Guaire the White, Brendan would have called him, perhaps the son of Ailill Molt, king of Connaught, or of Ailill of the Hy Bairrche, it is not possible to say which. Fingar was not there then, he was probably by this time dead, murdered in Cornwall, but his Irish colony was in possession of the land, and held a very extensive tract, separated from Brandivy by the stream of the Loc.

After a stay at this pleasant spot, where there was plenty of firewood and where was shelter from the winter storms, we may imagine Brendan and his party, when the buds began to swell, and the primroses and the wood anemones opened to tell that spring was come—to have shouldered their coracles and to have made their way across the high ground clothed with the forest of Camors and past the fortress of Conmore, who though regent of Domnonia had lands in the Vannes district, to the River Blavet, where again the boats were floated, and the travellers proceeded on their way, with intent to cross the watershed into Domnonia.

When they had traversed the ridge to Mur, they possibly diverged to the right to visit another Irish settlement, a monastery, now no longer existing, but under the name of S. Caradoc it recalls a foundation by Carthagh the pupil of and successor to S. Ciaran of Saighir. He

¹ *Le Mené, Paroisses de Vannes*, i, p. 94, supposes the name Brandivy to be derived from Bre-Ivy, the Hill of S. Yivy; but it is not probable that Bran would be introduced as a corruption. Brevy would be the natural form the name would take from the derivation proposed.

himself may not have been there, but his spiritual sons were, and would surely not have shut their gates against their brethren from the Emerald Isle.

Brendan now formed a settlement at the spot that still bears his name and remembers him as patron, near Quintin. He may have left a few of his monks there, and then he pushed on eastward to the Rance, descended it, and established himself at Aleth.

For what has been described with some detail, it must be clearly understood that we have no textual authority. We know only that he did cross from Ruys to the Rance, but the indications of his presence at Brandivy and at S. Brendan by Quintin, perhaps justify what has been said. Near Aleth, now S. Servan, opposite S. Malo, Brendan founded an important monastery.¹

Brendan's monastery was not on the mainland, but in the island of Césambre over against Aleth. Here to this day Brendan receives a cult, and has a chapel somewhat resembling a coast-guards' watch-house, the vault encrusted with shells. Formerly girls went there from the mainland to invoke S. Brendan to obtain husbands, praying, "Bienheureux S. Brendan, baillez-nous un homme, on vous donnera un cerge, tant plus tôt, tant plus gros." As the isle has recently received fresh fortifications, no one is now suffered to disembark on it, and to the custom, accordingly, a stop has been put. When, some thirty years after the foundation had been made by Brendan, S. Machu, or Malo, disembarked on Césambre, he found the monastery flourishing under the direction of an abbot, Festivus.

Aleth was a town mainly occupied by indigenous pagans, and Brendan trusted that his monastery would form a nucleus for the evangelization of the place and neighbourhood. Aleth had been a Roman station, in which resided an officer, a military prefect, with a detachment of soldiers. But now it was other, it was open and undefended, and about this period was sacked and burnt by marauding Saxon pirates.² Probably partly for security, and partly because it was better suited to the discipline of a monastery, Brendan preferred placing his monks on an island, rather than on the mainland.

That he extended his activities eastward appears from his name, under the form given it by the Britons, Branwalader, attaching to a parish church on the rising ground that forms the limit of the great

¹ "In alia regione in Britannia monasterium nomine Ailech, sanctus Brendanus fundavit," *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 15. "In Britanniam remeavit ac duo monasteria, unum in insula Ailech . . . fundavit," *Acta in Cod. Sal.*, col. 768. In this latter life the author supposes Ailech to be in Britain.

² De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, 1896, tome i, p. 132.

marsh of Dol. It is now called S. Broladre. That one of the islands visited by him, which figures in so fantastic a form in the *Navigatio*, was Jersey, is rendered probable by his name being attached there to the Bay of S. Brelade.

It may be well here to consider briefly the supposed relations that existed between S. Machu (Malo) and Brendan, but they shall be examined more fully when we come to the life of the former.

According to the Life of S. Machu, he was confided in infancy by his parents to S. Brendan, who was then abbot of Llancarfan.¹

The names of the successors of S. Cadoc, who was the founder, are known, although their order is not quite certain,² and there is no mention of Brendan among them, nor is any mention of Llancarfan to be found in the Lives of S. Brendan. That Machu was with Brendan at one time is conceivable; but he was too young at the time of Brendan's voyages to have been with him then. The authors of the Lives of Machu knew of the connection of Brendan with Aleth, which became the seat of Machu's bishopric, and they concluded that their hero had shared with the former his adventures on the deep.

The commemoration of Brendan as intimately associated with Aleth has never failed there. He is entered in the S. Malo Breviaries and Missals as a saint deserving local cult.

From Aleth Brendan went west, and founded a second important monastery.³ The district about Plouaret is probably meant, in Côtes du Nord, but on the confines of Finistère. Here are Lanbellec (the Llan of the Priest) and Trégrom, of both of which he is patron, as also of the chapel of Trogoff. What the Bledua of the Life may be, is now hard to discover.

The district about Plouaret is peculiarly pleasant and fertile, and it is well watered. Lanbellec is an extensive parish. The church has unhappily been rebuilt, and every feature of interest swept away. It is other with Trégrom, that lies at the junction of a little stream with the Leguier in a lovely situation. The church has been judiciously restored, and possesses an interesting statue of S. Brendan of the fourteenth century, above the porch entrance.

¹ *Vita Sti. Machuti*, auct. Bili.

² According to the charters of Llancarfan, appended to the *Life of S. Cadoc*, they were Cadoc, Elli, Paul, Jacob, Cyngen, Sulien and Danog.

³ "In loco alio in Brittania in regione Heth ecclesiam et villam circa eam assignavit, et ibi magnas virtutes pater Brendanus fecit," *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 16. The Second Life in the *Salamanca Codex* says, "Alterum (monasterium) in terra Ethica in loco nomine Bledua fundavit," col. 769. Terra Ethica is Plouaret, Plou-ar-Eth.

At the end of five years¹ Brendan returned to Ireland ; and on his way occurred the curious incident of the contending seals, to which has been given an extravagant character in the narrative that it really does not deserve. The story is told in his "Life," and also twice in the *Liber Hymnorum*, in the preface to the hymn "Brigid be bithmaith," and as a note to that of "Ni car Brigid." There must be some foundation for it. The story in brief is this. Whilst Brendan and his party were at sea they saw two monsters engaged in conflict, when one of them, being pursued by the other to imminent destruction, invoked first S. Patrick and then S. Brendan to defend it, but in vain, and at last commended itself to the protection of S. Brigid, when the monster that was about to destroy it, at once desisted from the pursuit, and its intended victim escaped unharmed. We may suppose the monsters were bull-seals, but the "Life" in the *Book of Lismore* says one was a sea cat and the other a whale, and says nothing of the pursued beast invoking the saints. What actually occurred was apparently this. The monks from their boat witnessed a battle between bull-seals, and as one seemed to be getting the worst of it and was pursued by its antagonist, those in the first boat invoked S. Patrick to its aid. Still it got the worst. Then those in the second boat called on Brendan to lend his merits to help the pursued beast out of its difficulties ; but it was only when Brigid had been called on by those in the third boat, that the victorious seal abandoned the pursuit. It was an easy matter out of such material to evolve an extravagant fable.

Directly that Brendan arrived in Ireland he visited S. Brigid at Kildare, and in all simplicity told her the story. He really supposed that her merits had prevailed over those of Patrick and himself to assist the bull-seal.

"As for me," said he, "since the day I was born not one passes but my mind turns to God, every seven strides that I make." "But I," said Brigid, "cannot remember that mine has ever been diverted from Him."

Brigid died in 525, on February 1, so that the return of Brendan to Ireland cannot have taken place later than the autumn of 524, when he was aged forty-one.²

After leaving Brigid, Brendan went on to visit his foster-mother Itha at Killeedy, where she was now established. She strongly advised him to depart once more. There were reasons, which we shall notice

¹ Irish Life, *Book of Lismore*, p. 253 : "Quinquennio equora perlustravit." Vita 2da, *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 764-5.

² The date can be pretty accurately determined. See further on under the heading of S. Brigid.

presently, that made it inadvisable for him to remain in that part of Munster. Itha did not wholly approve of his construction of boats, and advised him to abandon wicker work, and make a vessel out of ribs and boards.¹ It was not safe for him to remain in Munster, and he did not venture on constructing his vessel there, but went for the purpose to Connaught, with sixty disciples. According to the Irish Life, he visited Enda and stayed a month with him in Aran.² In Connaught Brendan set to work building a ship on the plan suggested by Itha. That accomplished, he started once more, and we may pretty confidently assert that the two years he remained away were spent in Brittany.

To this period belongs apparently the incident recorded in the *Navigatio* of the visit to the hermit Paul. Having made for the Armorican coast, but with no intention of renewing his acquaintance with and trusting to the hospitality of Gildas, he arrived off the coast of Léon. "Brendan made sail for some time towards the south. On the third day a small island appeared at a distance, towards which the brethren plied their oars. 'Do not, brothers,' said he, 'exhaust your strength. Seven years will have passed next Easter, since we left our country.'"³ The three days must have been since they left the Devon coast; that Brendan was there is shewn by the fact of the parish of Branscombe having him as its ancient patron and the presumed founder of its llan. But seven years is inaccurate; by the following Easter it would be six and not seven years.

"On approaching the shore, they could find no place to land, so steep was the coast, the island was small and circular, about a furlong in circumference, and on its summit was no soil, as the rock was quite bare. When they sailed round it, they found a small creek, which scarcely admitted the prow of their vessel, and from which the ascent was difficult."⁴

On this island they found a very aged hermit, whose name was Paul; he was covered from head to foot with hair, which was as white as snow.

Allowing for a considerable amount of exaggeration, we may determine the locality, and the hermit whom he there found. The island was Batz, off the north coast of Léon. It is not indeed round, but it is quite true that there is no landing-place on the face towards the ocean, the harbour is on that which faces Roscoff, on the mainland.

¹ In "Book of Lismore," *Anecd. Oxon.*, p. 257.

² *Navigatio*, ed. Moran, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.* Precisely the same in the Acta in the *Codex Sal.*, col. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

In Batz resided Paul of Léon, to which he retired when he had reached a very advanced age. "Sanctus Paulus . . . migravit ad Battham, propriae habitationis insulam, ubi . . . multa aetatis decrepitae tempora impendisse refertur, ita ut prae nimia senectute, consumptis jam carnibus, cutis solummodo atque ossa ejus divini amoris arefacta remanisse videbantur."¹

If this visit took place in the year 525 or 526 it is too early for Paul to have been in this emaciated and aged condition, for he was only consecrated bishop in or about 529, and he did not surrender his charge and retire to solitude that he intended to be permanent till 553. What is probable is that Paul was at the time in the isle of Batz, to which he frequently retreated, and that the writer of the *Navigatio* represents him as being then in the condition of extreme emaciation to which he was reduced some thirty years later. What confirms the opinion that Brendan did make the acquaintance of Paul of Léon is that he made a foundation or two in what became the diocese of Paul. These are Kerlouan and Loc Brevelaire; and one can well understand that a friendship having grown up between Paul and Brendan, the abbot asked the latter to found a centre for missionary work further west, beyond the great shallow bay of the Grève de Goulven. There would be another inducement to take Brendan to where is now Kerlouan. Hard by was a settlement of S. Senan, his bosom friend; indeed, later on Brendan made Senan his amchara or confessor and director.

At what time Senan was in Brittany we do not know, but it was probably before Brendan arrived there. He may have been at Guisenny at the time, or there may have been only a handful of his spiritual sons there. At any rate it must have been a delight to Brendan to meet brother Irishmen in this distant land, and talk with them in his own loved tongue.

At this part of the coast there are not bold bluffs, the land shelves into the sea, and there are vast stretches of sand. But out of the low land at Kerlouan shoots up a hunch of rock now surmounted by a signal station, once crowned by the Caer which has given its name to the parish. The old church has not been swept away; a modern structure, vulgar and pretentious, has been erected near by, but the old church is left, not unmutilated, however, for it has had its side aisles pulled down and walled up. A statue of S. Brendan there represents him as an abbot, with a crosier in one hand, mitred, and with a book in the other.

Of greater interest is Loc Brevelaire, by its name indicating it as a

¹ Vita Sti. Pauli Leonensis, ed. Plaine, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1882, cap. xx.

locus penitentiae, or cell to which the Saint retired in Lent, and whenever he desired to be alone with God. It is a tiny village, composed of a few cottages about the church, in a dip of a range of hills formed of a conglomerate of granite refuse, on the left bank of the Abervrach, there but an insignificant stream trickling through swampy meadows that flicker with yellow flags. It stands opposite to the wooded height of Lescoet (the Court in the Wood) once probably a *lis* of the chieftain of Léon. The church contains rude circular arches resting on drums of pillars of the eleventh century, but it was much altered in the seventeenth century, and again tinkered up in 1771. There is a Holy Well of the Saint in the churchyard wall, surmounted by his statue. He is also represented on the granite Calvary, and there is an interesting statue of him by the Altar in the church. He is figured as an abbot in chasuble, mitred, holding a crosier, and trampling on a monster, whilst a spotted dog is scrambling up his side seeking apparently to lick his hand.

M. Pol de Courcy, in his MS. *Pouillé de Léon*, says that Loc Brevelaire was described in mediæval times as Monasterium Sti. Brendani, but he gives neither reference nor date. There is neither *minihi*, *moustier*, nor *lan* among the place names in the parish. The only chapel bearing the title of S. Brendan in the Department of Morbihan is one on the side of the Montagnes Noires at Langonnet near Gourin.¹

The founding of monastic colonies in Léon was probably the work of the two final years of exile from Erin, and these ended, he returned to Ireland, but there is no notice of his having gone back to Munster.

The second exile from Ireland had not been due solely to the resentment of the relatives of the drowned youth. There is evidence of another cause rendering his absence advisable. For some reason unknown there had been much commotion in Kerry, repeated intestine broils, in which members of the same great sept had been fighting each other; this had resulted in one portion being dispossessed of their land. We do not know the exact date of the settlement of these refugees in Connaught, but it was in the reign of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharma, who was king of Connaught (544-555), that it was completed.

Cairbre MacConuire had been expelled with all his people from Kerry. He took refuge with Aedh, who, struck with the beauty of Cairbre's daughter, married her. Some time after this she persuaded her husband to grant to the dispossessed members of her father's clan a portion of the wide and beautiful plains of Roscommon and Mayo. He consented, and the Ciarraidhe came in such numbers as to excite

¹ Le Mené, *Paroisses de Vannes*, i, p. 404.

the resentment of the men of Connaught, and to displease Aedh. The migration continued for many years, so that three extensive colonies of the Ciarraidhe were settled in Roscommon and Mayo, and these all belonged to one of the principal branches of the Ciarraidhe, to which the sept of Altraighe, S. Brendan's own sept, gave chieftains.¹

It is probable that the broils in Kerry had been so fierce, and the condition to which the Altraighe had been reduced was so depressed, that Brendan deemed it expedient to keep out of the way.

Some of the exiles were near relations of S. Brendan, and one, Fintan, who is said to have been a Kerry prince, and nephew of the Saint, had fled to North Connaught, where, however, he got into a scrape. Being a good-looking fellow, he attracted the notice of the King's daughter, and they eloped together and placed themselves under the protection of S. Brendan, and whilst with him, their son, S. Fursey, was born.²

Whether the whole rush of the Ciarraidhe had as yet overswept Roscommon and Mayo, or whether, as is probable, only some of the refugees had settled there, Brendan deemed it advisable to make his headquarters among them, and to abandon troubled Kerry. He was accompanied by his brother, Faitleach, and by Bishop Maighniu, a near relation.

The first monastery he founded in Connaught was probably Cluan-tuasceart, in Roscommon, among the exiled Ciarraidhe, but he soon left it, placing it under the management of his brother, Faitleach, and proceeding west reached Lough Carrib, and crossing over to Inchquin resolved on settling in that island. According to the legend, this was royal property, and on the islet, King Aedh kept his horses, and these Brendan employed to draw material for his monastery. When Aedh heard of this he was very angry, and was only with difficulty pacified; then he made over the island to Brendan for ever. Brendan, however, was not satisfied with this, he founded a monastic settlement also on the island of Inis-da-dromand, where the Fergus river unites with the Shannon. But quarrels ensued among the monks there which ended in one of them being cut over the head, treacherously, whilst he was asleep, by a brother monk. The wounded man fled to Inchquin, told his story to Brendan, and died there of the wound. One day a serf of King Aedh fled to him complaining of the ill-treatment he received. Now it so chanced that Brendan in digging had come on an ancient

¹ O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Dublin, 1847, p. 100, *et seq.*

² The lives of S. Fursey give very different accounts of his parentage, because two saints of the same name have been confounded together. According to some of them the father of Fintan was Finlug, and he was therefore brother of S. Brendan.

gold ornament, perhaps a torque, and he gave this to the man, and bade him therewith purchase his freedom.

If we place the return of Brendan from his second voyage at 527, we have a considerable gap of time to fill in before we come to his relations with Aedh, king of Connaught (544-555), and this is one objection to the placing of the peregrinations at so early a period. The fixing of the voyages as occurring about 519-524, and 525-527, was due to the mention of the visit to S. Brigid after that which could only be the first, and that of his wintering twice with S. Ailbe, who, according to the best authorities, died in 527, but the *Annals* of Ulster and Innisfallen give it at 526, and the *Chronicon Scottorum* at 531.¹ Probably the migration of the Ciarraidhe began under Eoghain Beal and continued under Aedh.

If we place the voyages of Brendan at a later period, we must cast over the story of his visit to Brigid on his return; that also of his having passed two Christmas festivals with S. Ailbe.

We are told in the Life of S. Finnian of Clonard that both Brendans were his disciples.² Finnian died in 548, and his school was founded, as Dr. Lanigan holds, about the date of the death of S. Ailbe, 527.³ Now, if this was the year, as suggested, of Brendan's arrival from Armorica after his second voyage, and if on account of the civil war in Kerry he did not care to return there, it is not impossible that he may have spent some time with Finnian at Clonard, not as a pupil, but as an assistant. It was there that Brendan made acquaintance with Ruadhan, an acquaintanceship that would draw him into the worst error of his life.

In 527, Brendan would be aged forty-four. At Clonard he made acquaintance as well with Columcille, whom in after years he visited, when the latter was exiled from Ireland.

That he remained long with Finnian is improbable, as there is no further notice of him in the Life of the great "Master of Saints" than that already mentioned.

At some time between 544 and 555, Brendan paid a visit to King Diarmid Mac Cearbhoil in Meath. The king was then at Tara, and he was told that Brendan was coming to him. He was not over gratified at the prospect, fearing lest the Saint should demand of him the gold torque he wore. We are told that the king dreamt that this would be the case. Now the bards had the privilege of asking for what

¹ *The Four Masters* give 541, but this is another Ailbe of Senchua. Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, Dublin, 1829, i, pp. 461-3.

² *Cod. Sal.*, col. 200.

³ *Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, i, p. 464.

they wanted, and this could not well be refused them, for if they were denied they lampooned the person who rejected their demand, so as to turn him into a general laughing stock. This had become an intolerable nuisance, and when a bard actually demanded of King Cormac Mac Airt the royal brooch, the badge of supreme kingship, he banished the whole pack out of the country.

The Saints had stepped into the prerogatives of the bards, and if they did not lampoon, they cursed, and that soundly. Diarmid feared lest Brendan should make the same audacious demand. He consulted his druids and they told him that his dream portended that the sovereignty of Ireland would thenceforth be shared between the king and the Saints. When Brendan arrived and was told of the dream and its interpretation, he said that the good things of both worlds would be given only to such as truly served God, and contrary to the king's expectation he made no demand of him. "And Diarmid rendered great honour to S. Brendan, for he was a righteous and Christian king."¹

Indeed, Diarmid had been most generous to the Saints, and meanly and cruelly did they recompense him, as we shall see presently. He had been a liberal benefactor to S. Cieran of Clonmacnoise, he gave large endowments to Columcille, and he was liberal as well to Bishop Maighneu. But as soon as he touched their privilege of sanctuary they all turned against him and produced his overthrow.

Brendan was walking one stormy day with some monks through a forest. The wind roared among the trees, and every now and then one fell with a crash. The brethren were alarmed, one of them exclaimed that they were in dire peril from the falling timber. "Fear not," said the abbot; "one night when I was at sea, and all were asleep in the vessel but myself, a gale was blowing and we drew near to some breakers, and I thought our boat would be rent on them, but a great billow heaved us over the prongs of rock into still water. God, who delivered us then, can deliver us now."²

In 555, Brendan founded Clonfert. It was the year of the battle of Cuildreihmne, in which Aedh of Connaught fought and defeated Diarmid Mac Cearbhall.³ The account in the *Second Life* in the

¹ *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23. In the text, the rocks rise up to let the boat pass under them.

³ "Diarmid vero fugit, et in eo die Cluainferta Brennain fundata est," sub anno 561. But 555 is the date in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and those of Tighernach. The *Ulster Annals* give as the date of the founding of Clonfert 557 (i.e., 558), but again under 563 (i.e., 564), "Or in this year Brendan founded the church of Cluainferta."

Codex Salmanticensis may be quoted. "Some time afterwards S. Brendan said to his brethren, 'We must go into the country of the Hy Many, for that land hath need of us, and there perhaps shall our bodies repose. I have heard its angel waging battle in my name, and we must therefore lend him assistance, for our Redeemer's sake.' In that year the kings of the northern parts of Ireland, and Aedh, king of Connaught, with all their forces, gave battle to Diarmid, king of Ireland, at a place called Cuilbreihmne, and won the victory. Then, the man of God, Brendan, went forth into the land of Hy-Maine, and there founded the famous monastery of Clonfert. 'This shall be my rest for ever, here will I dwell,' said he. 'In that place he became the father of many servants of God, and thence he diffused light and virtue all round.'"¹

Previous to this, however, he had been mixed up in a very discreditable affair, concerning which his biographers are mainly silent. Diarmid was high-king of Ireland (544-58). His steward had been ill for a year. On his recovery, he inquired whether the king's privileges had been maintained during the time when he was unable to exercise his office. The spear-bearer of Diarmid undertook to go through the land and report. It was the rule that every under-king's *lis* or court should have a door wide enough for the royal spear to be carried through it, borne horizontally. This man, on arriving in Connaught, went to the mansion of Aedh Guaire, who had a stockade of oak about his rath, with a new wooden house in it, erected with a view to his marriage feast.

When the spear-bearer arrived, he found that the entrance to the rath was of the regulation size, but not so that of the house, and he imperiously demanded that it should be hacked to the conventional width. Aedh objected, an altercation ensued, and ended in the spearbearer being killed.

When Diarmid heard of this, he was furious, and sent his men to devastate the lands of Aedh Guaire, who, unable to resist the superior force of the king, fled for sanctuary to S. Ruadhan of Lothra. Ruadhan sent him away into Britain, but Diarmid contrived his arrest there, and he was brought a prisoner to Tara.

Upon this, Ruadhan, who regarded the matter as a breach of sanctuary, went to Brendan of Birr, and thence sent messengers throughout Ireland to the great abbots to assemble in maintenance of their rights. They accordingly gathered, and proceeded to Tara, and undertook a fast against the king.²

¹ 2nd Life in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 770.

² *Ibid.*

But Diarmid retaliated, and instituted a fast against the Saints. "To the end of a year they continued before Tara under Ruadhan's tent exposed to weather and wet, and they were every alternate night without food, Diarmid and the clergy, fasting against each other."

At this time Brendan arrived on the scene, returned apparently from having visited his monasteries in Armorica, for he is represented as arriving from abroad. He at once made common cause with the other abbots against the king who had been his benefactor.

According to one account, Diarmid was so frightened when he heard of the arrival of Brendan, that he consented to surrender his captive; however that may be, the fast continued on both sides. Then Brendan devised a most unworthy stratagem to enable the Saints to get the better of the king. Diarmid had his spies observing the abbots. Brendan advised them to pretend to break their fast, by pulling their hoods over their faces, and making believe that they ate, but actually slipping their food into their laps.

The spies, thinking that the abbots had broken their fast, hastened to announce it to the king, and Diarmid, overjoyed, broke his. Thus the Saints got ahead of him by one night. When he heard how he had been outwitted, he went to them and thus addressed them: "Alas for the iniquitous contest you are waging against me! seeing that what I pursue is the good of Ireland, her discipline and the rights of the crown. But it is discord and slaughter in Ireland that ye are aiming at. God Himself appointed me to give right judgment and rule and truth. A prince must combine stringency with mercy, and peace must be maintained among the under chiefs. Unless a king succour the wretched, overwhelm enemies, and banish falsehood, he has fallen from his duty, and will be held responsible therefore hereafter."

Then Ruadhan and all the assembled Saints cursed Diarmid that his dynasty should come to an end, and that Tara should be for ever desolate.

There is another, but not necessarily contradictory version of the story, that the king bribed Mobai to withdraw from the conjuration of the Saints against him.¹

¹ The authorities are these. The lost *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, which were translated into English by Connell Mac Geoghegan in 1627, and printed in 1896: an Irish MS. in Trinity Coll., Dublin (H. I. 15); the Life of S. Ruadhan in the *Book of Kilkenny*; a fifteenth century MS. in the Brit. Mus., which is a copy of the lost *Book of Sligo*; the Life in the *Codex Salaman.*, No. xv; *The Book of Rights*, ed. O'Donovan, 1847, pp. 53-7; *The Four Masters*, the *Chron. Scott.*, the *Annals of Ulster*; Tighernach and Keating are silent upon the matter. "Yet so great a national event was infinitely too important to have been passed over in silence except for some special reason, and I cannot help thinking that

Diarmid was murdered in 558, and Tara was never again inhabited or made the centre of government. "The great palace where, according to general belief, a hundred and thirty-six pagan and six Christian kings had ruled uninterruptedly, the most august spot in all Ireland, where a 'Truce of God' had always reigned during the great triennial assemblies, was now to be given up and deserted at the curse of a tonsured monk. The Great Assembly, or Feis, of Tara, which accustomed the people to the idea of a centre of government and a ruling power, could no more be convened, and a thousand associations and memories which hallowed the office of the High King were snapped in a moment. It was a blow from which the monarchy of Ireland never recovered, a blow which, by putting an end to the great triennial and septennial conventions of the whole Irish race, weakened the prestige of the central ruler, increased the powers of the provincial chieftains, segregated the clans of Ireland from one another, and opened a new road for faction and dissension throughout the entire land."¹

The last Feis of Tara occurred in 554, and the Cursing of Tara must have taken place that year, or the next, when the battle of Cuil-reihmne was fought, in which Diarmid lost most of his troops, and was obliged to fly. He was an unfortunate prince in having offended the Saints of Ireland. The conjuration which led to this battle was brought about by the efforts of Columcille, against whom he had pronounced a judgment that the Saint regarded as unjust, and because Diarmid had put to death Curnan, son of Aedh, the king of Connaught, whom he had received under his protection.²

Clonfert, founded in 555 by S. Brendan, is in Galway, and near the Shannon, and it grew to be a great centre of monastic activities, a celebrated school, and an episcopal throne. Probably about the same time Brendan established a religious house at Enachduin, now Annadown, in Galway, on the banks of Lough Corrib, on land granted him by King Aedh. He also began a monastery near Lothra in Tipperary, but his friend Ruadhan objected, as the bell of each church could be heard at the other, and Brendan removed his settlement elsewhere.³

According to the story in the Life of S. Brendan in the *Kilkenny Book*, shortly after the founding of Clonfert, at Christmas, a great longing came over S. Itha to receive the Holy Communion at the hands of her foster son, and she was conveyed by angels the three

it was not alluded to because the Annalists did not care to recall it." Douglas Hyde, *The Literary Hist. of Ireland*, London, 1899, p. 227.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

² For the Battle see Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of Columba*, p. 247, *et seq.*

³ Vita Sti. Rodani, *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 219-20.

days' journey from her convent in Kerry to the monastery of Brendan in Galway. Even if we allow that the angels who bore her were her white-robed nuns, the story is not possible.

Itha became foster mother of Brendan in 484, and cannot have been then under twenty. This would make her aged ninety-one in 555, and we can hardly suppose her at this advanced age making so long a journey. It is more likely that she made her Christmas Communion with him as celebrant when he was on a visit to Ardferf.¹

Whilst Brendan was in Connaught, Itha asked his assistance in a delicate matter. One of her young nuns had run away, and had gone into Connaught, where she became a mother, and went into service to a Druid. Itha requested Brendan to bring her back, but this could only be effected through the intervention of King Aedh, as the Druid refused to surrender her. Eventually the unfortunate girl with her child were recovered by Itha at Killedy.²

From Clonfert Brendan seems to have occasionally retired to the lonely Isle of Inisgloria, off the coast of Mayo at the N.W. extremity, where a mass of land is connected with the mainland by a narrow neck, on which is planted Bellmullet. Here is to be found a very rude and venerable oratory that bears the name of Brendan, and here also is preserved a wooden statue of the Saint. On the island are the remains of four cloghans, or beehive huts. The fishermen of the coast, when passing Inisgloria, lower their sails in honour of S. Brendan.³

"Once, when the King of Munster came into Connaught, with a large army to lay waste that country, Brendan was very old (senex), and at the entreaty of the men of Connaught, he went to meet the Munster men, and besought them to make peace, but they in their pride would grant neither peace nor truce to the Saint. But when they were proceeding to ravage the land, they were for a whole day kept moving round in a circle at one place, and could make no advance. Then they supposed that a miracle had been wrought against them, and, seized with fear, they decided to return into their own country."⁴

What probably occurred was that a fog came on, which the Munster men imagined had been called up by the prayers of Brendan, and so desisted from their undertaking.

Brendan made a compact of friendship with several saintly abbots, which was to remain in force after their deaths between the monks

¹ *Vita*, ed. Moran, p. 20.

² Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, *Vita S. Itaë*, cap. xxxi.

³ O'Donovan, *Letters on the Antiquities of Mayo*, Ord. Survey, 1838, i. pp. 198-207.

⁴ *Vita*, ed. Moran, pp. 23-4.

of their several monasteries. These were S. Finbar of Cork, Caineach, and Abban Mac Cormic, the latter of whom he had visited on his return from his last voyage.¹ Also with Ciaran of Saigher,² with whom he had made acquaintance at Clonard, and also with his namesake Brendan of Birr.³ He paid a visit to S. Columcille, in company with Comgal, founder of Bangor, Caineach of Achadbos, and Cormac of Durrow. Columcille was then in the isle of Hinba, probably Canna, north of Hy. The Saints between them invited Columcille to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice before them, and they asserted that they had seen a globe of light above the head of the officiant which irradiated his face as he sang Mass.⁴ This was apparently a hanging lamp which they were pleased to regard as illuminating Columcille in a remarkable manner. Brendan was also on intimate terms with S. Scuthin.⁵

Seven years before his death, Brendan was in his monastery at Clonfert on Easter day.⁶ A clerical student bearing a harp entered the refectory and played to the monks, and then inquired where the old abbot was, as he desired to harp to him. They told him that Brendan was in his cell, and would not listen to music, he put wax into his ears. However, the student persisted, and was introduced into the cell of the old man, whom he found engaged in reading. Brendan was with difficulty persuaded to listen to the harping, and leave his study; but in the end he yielded. He hearkened for a while to the sweet music, and then said, "A blessing on thee for thy melody, and may Heaven be thy due." Then he corked up his ears again. The harper urged that he might continue to play. "No," said Brendan. "Seven years ago I was in a church after preaching, and when Mass was ended and I was alone and had gone to Christ's Body, there came on me an ineffable longing to be with my Lord. And as I was in this

¹ Vita S. Rodani, *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 319-20.

² Vita S. Cierani, *Ibid.*, col. 817.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Reeves, *Vita Sti. Columbac*, by Adamnan, pp. 221-2.

⁵ One day Brendan visited Scuthin to inquire into some scandalous stories told about him. Scuthin satisfied him of his virtue, after a long ordeal. The account will only bear being given in a condensed form in Latin. "Scuthinus, ut praelium sibi majus fiat, duas pulcherimas virgines, lecti sui participes omnibus noctibus fecit. De qua re quaestio fuit, et venit Brendanus ad inquirendum utrum contra leges pudicitiae aliquid committeretur. Scuthinus ait, Hac nocte lectuli mei Brendanus periculum faciat. Consentiens Brendanus lectum ascendit. Virgines in lectum sese Brendano introducunt. Ille autem tali contubernio inflammatus, dormire non potuit." The damsels advise him to follow Scuthinus' advice and get into a tub of cold water. "Well then," said Brendan, "it is not for me to condemn him. He is a better saint than myself." The whole story is in the gloss on the *Félire of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. xxxii.

⁶ The story is in the *Book of Lismore*, see *Anecd. Oxoniensia*, p. xiii.

ecstasy, trembling and afraid, I saw a pretty bird on the window-sill, and it flew in and alighted on the altar and there sang, and his song was as the music of heaven. After that I have never cared more to hear the strains of earth."

Feeling his end approach, he visited his sister at Annadown, and told her that he was about to die. She was filled with grief. He was very old, in his ninety-sixth year. On the following day he stood at the altar, and turning to all present, said: "I commend my death to your prayers." "But," said his sister, Brig, "what have you to fear?" "I fear," he replied, "dying alone, I fear the dreadful journey in darkness, I fear the unwonted land, the face of the King, and the sentence of the Judge."

Then he bade the brothers take his body, when he was dead, to Clonfert; and after he had kissed his sister and the rest, he said, "Salute all my kinsfolk for me, and tell them to restrain their tongues from profane talk. For evil talkers are sons of perdition."¹ That same day he died, May 16, 577.²

A curious entry in Leland's *Collectanea* is that in 1199, at Ludlow, in Shropshire, whilst enlarging the parish church, a tumulus was opened that contained three cists, in which were found bodies, and with them an inscription to the effect that they were the remains of S. Ferco (Finlug), the father of S. Brendan, and of S. Cochel, his cousin. That the cists and skeletons were found is likely enough; the inscriptions were impudent and interested forgeries. The bodies were enshrined in the church for the reverence of the credulous.³

There are no churches in Wales dedicated to S. Brendan. In the *Life of S. Machu, or Malo*, it is confidently asserted that Brendan was at one time abbot of Llancarfan. Machu is only mentioned as a disciple of Brendan in the Colbert MS. of the *Navigatio*, and this is evidently an interpolation. Owen, in his *Sanctorale Catholicum* (p. 234), says that Brendan "was a disciple of S. Finan, and lived some years in the abbey of Llancarvan in Wales," but he drew this from the *Life of S. Machu*, and the book is wholly uncritical.

Brendan's name among the British seems to have been Branwalader (*which see*).

S. Brendan's day in the *Féilire of Oengus* and all other Irish Martyr-

¹ *Vita*, ed. Moran, pp. 24-5.

² Brendan died on Sunday, May 16. Ussher, *Brittan. Eccl. Antiquitates*, *Index Chron.*, gives 577. But the *Annals of Inisfallen* give 570, the Dublin copy however 575. The *Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster* give 571, which in the latter would be 572. The *Four Masters* give 576. But Sunday fell on May 16 in 577.

³ *Collect.*, iii, p. 407.

ologies is May 16. The S. Malo Breviary of 1537 gives this day. His translation is on June 14, but a Léon calendar (1516) gives July 5. On May 16, in John of Tynemouth's collection, and Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*. But Whytford, under May 14, says: "One of the feests of saynt Brandane that were born in Englonde, but an abbot in yreland of III. M. Monkes, a holy fader that gretely exercysed, that laboured in pylgrymages, after the which he was made a bysshop in yreland, and ever of synguler sanctitie"—which is a tissue of errors.

The principal authorities for the life of S. Brendan have been already spoken of.

There is, in the first place, that in the so-called *Kilkenny Book*, in Bishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, which has been printed by the Right Rev. P. F. Moran, bishop of Ossory, *Acta Sti. Brendani*, Dublin, 1872. Another Latin Life in the *Codex Salamanticensis*, coll. 759-772. A fragment of another in the same, coll. 495-6. An Irish Life from the *Book of Lismore*, *Anecd. Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1890, pp. 99-116, Translation, pp. 247-261. The Latin Life in the *Salamanca Codex*, coll. 113-154, is a *Navigatio*. A Latin Life from a thirteenth century MS., ed. Carl Schröder, Erlangen, 1871. Translations of the Life in the *Kilkenny Book*, and of the Irish Life are in O'Donoghue's *S. Brendan the Voyager*, Dublin, 1893.

The Metrical Life of S. Brendan in the *Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Vesp. D. IX*, is also contained in Cardinal Moran's *Acta S. Brendani*.

A *Vita* in Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, from the *Cotton MS. Vesp. A. XIX*, in the British Museum, is a bad version of the *Navigatio*. The Life in Capgrave is a compilation from the "Life" in the *Kilkenny Book* and the *Navigatio*.

Churches dedicated to S. Brendan in Devon are Brendon on the northern slope of Exmoor, and Branscombe, now held to be under the patronage of S. Winefred, but where the body of S. Brendan, under the Welsh form of the name, Branwalader, was supposed to repose.

There was also a chapel at Stokenham, placed under his patronage, licensed by Bishop Lacey, June 24, 1421.

There were a hermitage and a chapel to S. Brendan on Brandon Hill above Bristol. Brancepeth in Durham is also dedicated to him.

In art, the proper symbol of the Saint would seem to be a boat. Brendan is regarded as the author or compiler of a Monastic Rule; this has unhappily been lost. Also of a prayer, published by Cardinal Moran.¹ This may perhaps originally have been composed by him,

¹ From a Sessorian MS. at Rome, *Acta S. Brendani*, pp. 27-44. The rubric to it is as follows: "Beatus Brendanus, monachus, quaerens insulam promiss-

but it has been amplified and extended in after ages. It contains an invocation for the protection of various parts of the body that resembles the *Lorica* of Gildas. Brendan is also but very hesitatingly claimed as author of a hymn to S. Brigid, which certainly is not his.¹

There is in Welsh an apothegm attributed to him, which occurs in what are called the "Stanzas of the Month," supposed to be by Aneurin, but are really several centuries later :—

Truly saith S. Brenda,
"The evil is not less resorted to than the good."²

Brendan is invoked in the Litany in the *Stowe Missal*, published by Warren.³ See also under S. Branwalader.

S. BRIAC, Abbot, Confessor

BRIAC was an Irishman by birth, son of a chieftain in Ulster, whose name is not given. At an early age, he embraced the monastic profession, and passed into Wales, where he placed himself under the tuition of S. Tudwal, and in course of time was ordained priest.

Two years after that event, Tugdual or Tudwal resolved on crossing into Armorica, along with Ruelin, Loenan, Guevroc, and Briac, who attached themselves especially to him. They landed in the Isle of Kermorran in face of le Conquest in the west of Léon. The legend says that no sooner had they reached the mainland, after leaving the island, than their vessel vanished; this means no more than that having carelessly attached it, or not having drawn it up sufficiently high on the beach, a high tide carried it out to sea and they were unable to recover it.

Tugdual founded the monastery of Lanpabo, in a sheltered valley near the sea, but deemed it advisable to obtain a confirmation of his claims to land from Deroch, then prince or king of Léon and Domnonia. Deroch was the son of Rhiwal who had welcomed S. Brioc. Tugdual took with him as his companions the four above-named companions.

sionis per septem annos continuos orationem istam de verbo Dei per Michaelum Archangelum fecit quando transfretavit septem maria. Quicumque istam cantaverit sive dixerit pro se vel pro amico suo aut familiari vivo sive defuncto centies flexis genibus aut prostrato corpore remittuntur ei omnia peccata, et de poenis inferni salvus erit."

¹ The hymn is "Brigit be bithmait," *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. H. Bradshaw Soc., i, pp. 37-39.

² *Myvyrian Archaiology*, pp. 21, 419.

³ *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 238, 240.

Deroch received them well, and made a grant to Tugdual of the old camp where now stands the city of Tréguier. At the request of the prince, who lived at Castel-deroch, near where is now the town of Bourbriac, he left his faithful attendant Briac with him, and Deroch bade him form a monastic colony near his castle. This Briac did in a clearing of the forest. The mound on which stood the wooden palace of Deroch still remains at a little distance from Bourbriac; the town has formed itself about the monastery and not the royal habitation. After some years, Briac resolved on a pilgrimage to Rome, and he passed through France to the Mediterranean, where he took ship and sailed for the mouth of the Tiber, which he reached after having been five days at sea.

He returned in the same way, and landed at Marseilles, whence he departed for Arles, where he was well received by the bishop, and remained with him for two years. The bishop would have retained him longer, but Briac was anxious to return. On his way back he made a digression to visit the abbey of Luxeuil.¹

He had left his monastery under the charge of a brother whom he regarded as a model of Christian virtues. But on his return he found "a certain person," puffed up with pride, and domineering in manner. The Life does not say that this was his deputy, but leaves us to understand that this is implied. Apparently this man was by no means willing to surrender the rule to his former superior, and Briac had much trouble with him. It is possible that it was now that the Saint, along with the party of monks which sided with him, removed to the site on the coast now called S. Briac. We are not told this in so many words, but it is not difficult to read between the lines, and discern that there was for a while a schism in the community. However, the "certain person" fell ill, and when he thought himself at the point of death, sent to Briac and confessed his pride and wrongful usurpation.

Briac died on December 17, and was interred in his monastery at Bourbriac. A little difficulty exists as to the date of the founding of this establishment. According to the calculation of M. de la Borderie, Deroch succeeded Rhiwal in 530 and died in 535. But it is possible enough that Deroch held the principality of Léon whilst his father lived and exercised rule over Domnonia.

We may put down the death of Briac as taking place about 570, perhaps earlier.

¹ This is chronologically impossible. Luxeuil was founded in 590. An old name for Tréguier was Lexovia, and this has been confounded with Luxovium, Luxeuil. Briac visited Tugdual at Lexovia, and not Columbanus at Luxovium.

Briac's tomb at Bourbriac was crushed and much injured by the fall of the nave of the church in 1765; it has, however, been restored or reconstructed. The Life of the Saint is given by Albert le Grand from a legend formerly preserved at Bourbriac, but now lost, and from one, also lost, that he found at Tréguier. It was apparently an early and trustworthy document. Briac is also mentioned in the Lives of S. Tugdual and of S. Guevroc.

According to his "Life," Briac died on December 17, and that is the day given for his commemoration by Albert le Grand and Lobineau, and a MS. Missal of Tréguier of the fifteenth century.

Briac founded no churches in Wales or Cornwall.

In art he is represented as an abbot, in a long habit, with a hood, over the habit is a surplice, at his feet a dog. Such is the representation on his tomb at Bourbriac.

Formerly he was invoked for the cure of insanity. Lunatics were confined in a cell near his tomb, with barred windows, and Mass was said before them, with the hopes of effecting a cure. All this is now of the past. He had a Holy Well at Bourbriac, but this has disappeared. The water is carried off by an underground channel to supply the requirements of the inhabitants of the presbytère.

S. BRIGID, Virgin, Abbess

THE cult of S. Brigid in Wales, Cornwall, Devon and Brittany belonged originally to those portions of the land that were colonized by the Irish in the fifth and sixth centuries.

We know of no Welsh founders of Religious communities who can at all compare with Brigid in fame and popularity. At Glastonbury, under the vague tradition that she at one time lived and even died there, is concealed, in all likelihood, the fact that there was there a house affiliated to Kildare; and Glastonbury is termed in Cormac's *Glossary* "Glasimpere of the Gadhaels."¹

One reason for her extraordinary popularity is that S. Brigid has replaced, like S. Anne, a Goidelic female deity, in the same way that S. Vitus has stepped into the prerogatives of Suativit in Bohemia.

Brig is a feminine noun, and in Gaelic signifies valour or might, and the Welsh *Bri*, honour or renown, comes from the same root. Brigid has the same signification. Brigid was, as Cormac tells us in

¹ Ussher, *Britann. Ecclesiæ Antiquitates*, Dublin, 1639. ii, p. 900. Cormac's *Glossary*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Lond., 1862, pp. xlviii.

his Irish Glossary, becoming antiquated in the ninth century. "A goddess whom the poets worshipped, for very great and noble was her perfection. Whose sisters were Brigid, woman of healing, and Brigid, woman of smith's work (*i.e.*, patroness of the forge), goddesses."¹ Altars to her have been found in Britain, as Brigantia, a fire goddess. At Middleby, an inscription on one runs:—"Brigantiae s(acrum), Armandus Architectus ex imperio, imp. I"; also on one found at Greta Bridge, Yorkshire, "Deæ numeriae numini Brig et Jan."²

She was a nature goddess, differentiated in later times into a triad of sisters, the Brig of Fire, of Life, and of Valour.

The great people of the Brigantes derived their name from the same root, *Brig*, signifying valour.³

The historical Brigid stepped into the affections of the Irish race and occupied the place formerly given to the mythical Brig or Brigid. We commit a grievous error if we suppose that S. Brigid never existed, and is merely the old goddess introduced into the Christian Calendar and receiving Catholic cult. Many a Christian martyr and saint in Greece and Rome had a name derived from a heathen deity, as Apollo, Apollonia, Dionysius, Januarius, Martialis, and Saturninus. In like manner our Celtic forefathers bore names derived from the deities that had been worshipped of old in the land.

A confusion of ideas concerning Brigid lasted on in Christian times, and she was identified with the Virgin Mary. Thus in S. Broccan's hymn:—

Brigid, mother of my high King
Of the Kingdom of Heaven, best was she born.⁴

In the hymn "Brigit be bithmait" not only is she identified with the goddess of fire as "the sun fiery, radiant," but she is also made the mother of Christ.

She, the branch with blossoms,
The mother of Jesus.⁵

And S. Broccan further calls her "The One-Mother of the Great King's Son."⁶

In the Third Life in Colgan she is spoken of: "Haec est Maria quae habitat inter vos."

¹ Cormac, *Gloss.*, pp. xxxiii-iv.

² For altars see Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, 1842; and inscriptions, Hubner, *Corp. Insc. Lat.*, vii, 191, and Stokes' notes to Cormac's *Glossary*.

³ See Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, pp. 75-7, where she is also described as the Minerva of the Celts.

⁴ *Libro Hymnorum*, ed. Henry Bradshaw Soc., Lond., 1897, ii, p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43; see also pp. 46, 107, 190, 223.

The identification of S. Brigid with the fire goddess showed itself in the maintenance of a perpetual fire at Kildare near her church. Giraldus Cambrensis thus describes it: "As in the time of S. Brigid twenty nuns were here engaged in the Lord's warfare, she herself being the twentieth, after her glorious departure, nineteen have always formed the society, the number having never been increased. Each of them has the care of the fire for a single night, the last nun, having heaped wood upon the fire, says, 'Brigid, take charge of your own fire; for this night belongs to you.' She then leaves the fire, and in the morning it is found that the fire has not gone out, and that the usual amount of fuel has been consumed. This fire is surrounded by a hedge, made of stakes and brushwood, and forming a circle, within which no male can enter; and if any one should presume to do so, he will not escape divine vengeance. Moreover, it is only lawful for women to blow the fire, and they must use for the purpose bellows, and not their own breath."¹

This was an Irish counterpart of the College of the Vestal Virgins at Rome keeping alive the sacred fire of Hestia; and no reasonable doubt can exist that it was a pagan survival of the worship of Brigid the fire goddess. This would seem to have struck Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, for in 1220 he ordered the fire to be extinguished.

Brigid, Bride, or Ffraid, was one of the most popular saints in Wales, hence all the Llansantffraids, and legend has it that she visited Wales sailing across the channel on a green turf. This was, however, a totally distinct personage, living at a later period, and of her we will deal in a second article. This Second Brigid has, however, inherited the favour due to the first.

There is a good deal of material extant out of which to write a life of S. Brigid, but it is of very various value. No thoroughly critical life of this illustrious saint has been as yet written, and all that can be here attempted is to give a brief sketch of her life, and the most interesting and illustrative anecdotes connected with it, as S. Brigid belongs to Ireland rather than to Britain.²

Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, has printed six Lives of the Saint. The first is an Irish poem in fifty-three stanzas of four lines each, of which he gives a Latin translation, and which is erroneously attributed to Broegan of Rosture in Ossory. It is a panegyric rather than a

¹ Girald. Camb., *Topog. Hib.*, cc. xxxv-vi.

² John Canon O'Hanlon has given a Life of S. Brigid in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, ii, pp. 1-224, a marvellous monument of industrious compilation; but no hand has yet touched the mass of material to sort it according to its value, and elucidate from it a life treated from an historical standpoint.

Life, and the Bollandists did not consider that it deserved reproduction in their collection. It is in the *Liber Hymnorum* (H. Bradshaw Soc.) i, 112-128.

The first *Vita* in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists is the same as the Third in Colgan's volume *Trias Thaumaturga*. It is erroneously attributed to S. Ultan of Ardbreccan, died 656; it is probably later. It contains much interesting detail.¹ It begins: "Fuit quidam vir nobilis."

The second *Vita* is by Cogitosus, and was written after 800 and before 835, when Kildare was sacked and burnt by the Danes, for he speaks of the monastery as a safe refuge, free from all fear of hostile attack. His Irish surname was Maccu-machtheni; ² the Celtic form of the name Cogitosus would be Cogitois, or Cogitis, and in reference to this the author opens his narration with the words, "Me Cogitis fratres," and he ends by imploring the prayers of his readers, "Orate pro me Cogitoso."

This Life is written in a florid style, and avoids quoting particulars of places and names of persons associated with S. Brigid, and passes abruptly from a narrative of her miracles to a description of Kildare, without an account of her death. It is, therefore, probably fragmentary. The one great merit it has is that it affords us a most valuable description of the monastic church of Kildare, before its destruction by the Danes.

The Life by Cogitosus is the second in Colgan's Collection.

The third Life is metrical, in Latin hexameters, and incomplete, by one Coelan or Chilian, a monk of Iniskeltra, supposed to have lived at the close of the eighth century, but this is impossible, as he speaks of Animosus as his predecessor in writing the life of Brigid, and Animosus is held to have lived in the latter part of the tenth century. "His calling S. Brigid's mother a countess," says Dr. Lanigan, "smells of a late period."³

The passage is as follows:—

Quadam namque die genetrix dum forte sedebat
In curru praegnans, nec tunc enixa puellam,

* * * * *

¹ Dr. Lanigan calls it "a hodge-podge made up at a late period, in which it is difficult to pick out any truth amidst a heap of rubbish." Nevertheless it contains much curious matter, though perhaps not chronologically arranged. Colgan attributes it to Ultan, but Ultan's work may be engrafted in it with other matter. Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, Dublin, 1829, i, p. 380. The Lives are in *Acta SS. Boll.* for February, t. i.

² Todd, *S. Patrick*, p. 402.

³ Lanigan, *op. cit.*, i, p. 381.

Audierat sonitum Vates stridere rotarum
 Dixerat ecce venit, Rex est qui praesidet axi;
 Sed Comitissa tamen carpentum sola regebat.

This is the sixth Life in Colgan's Collection. The poem is of no particular value; it is based on the Life attributed to S. Ultan, on one by S. Elean, and on that by Animosus.

The fourth *Vita*, beginning "Fuit gloriosus rex in Hybernia," is supposed by Ussher to have been written about 657. This is an interesting Life, full of detail, and with genealogical information in it, as well as numerous valuable historical allusions.

The fifth *Vita* is by Laurence of Durham, who died in 1154. He dedicated it to Ethelred, one of the officers of the household of King Henry I. This is also the fifth Life in Colgan's Collection. It is that printed in the Lives of the Saints from the *Salamanca Codex*.¹

The Life (*Vita 1^{ma}*) attributed to S. Ultan is in an Irish form in the *Book of Lismore*.² This also forms the basis of that by John of Tynemouth in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*.

There are other lives, in Irish, but they are versions of those already described.

A sixth Life, by Animosus or Aimchad, is in Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 546-567.

At the outset we are met with a difficulty. According to Lives I, IV, V, Brigid's mother was a slave girl in the service of her father, Dubtach. Cogitosus slides over the circumstances of the birth and infancy. He says:—"Sancta Brigida—de bona ac prudentissima prosapia in Scotia orta, patre Dubtacho et matre Brotsech genita; a sua pueritia bonarum rerum studiis inolevit." And the rhythmical life by Chilian is still more vague.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the birth of Brigid was as described by the more exact and precise biographers. It is not credible that these latter would have gone out of their way to describe Brigid as base-born; whereas it is comprehensible enough that panegyrists should slur over such a fact and even reject it.

Brigid was the daughter of Dubtach, son of Demri, eleventh in descent from Fedlimidh Rechtmar, king of Ireland in the second century of the Christian era. Her mother's name was Brotseach, a slave in his house. Dubtach was married, and when his wife perceived the condition in which was Brotseach, full of jealousy, she forced her husband to get rid of the favourite maid-servant.³ The man, unable

¹ Vitæ SS. Hib., in *Cod. Sal.*, pp. 1-76.

² *Anecd. Oxon.*, 1890, pp. 34-53.

³ *Vitæ*, i, iv, v.

to resist, sold Brotseach to a Druid, but with the stipulation that he reserved property in the child she bore in her womb.¹

The Druid, who came from Meath, took his newly acquired slave to his home at Tochar-maine, now Fochard, and there Brigid was born, about the year 453.² The Druid and his wife were kind people, and finding that the little Brigid was delicate, reserved for her one cow, that she might drink of its milk only.

As Brigid grew up she was set various tasks in the house and on the farm. The Druid moved into Munster, and as she was now grown up, he sent word to her father that he acknowledged his claim, and that Dubtach might take her. Throughout the story, as far as he enters into it, the Druid shows himself an honourable and well-disposed man, and it is pleasing to know that eventually he became a Christian.

Dubtach came to the house of the Druid for his daughter, and the master allowed her, when she departed, to take her Christian nurse with her. Brigid was now for some time with her father, who also lived in Meath, but was not received with kindness by Dubtach's wife and sons. Various stories are told of her childhood, showing how hard was the life in her father's house. The stepmother made her drudge in the kitchen, scolded her, and took a stick to her back, if a dog ran away with some of the bacon, and heaped abuse on her head. Hearing that her mother, who still remained in bondage, was out of health, she begged leave to go to her assistance, and when this was granted, Brigid did her mother's work for her. Her duty was to milk the cows and make butter at the summer-pasture lodge, the *hafod* as the Welsh would call it.

Some ill-natured people accused Brigid to the Druid of want of thrift, and of wasting the butter. He and his wife went to the pasture farm, to inquire into the matter, and required the girl to produce all the butter she had churned. Then Brigid went to and fro between the kitchen and the parlour, singing the following hymn, whilst fetching the pats of butter :—

Oh, my Prince
Who canst do all things,
Bless, O God,—a prayer unforbidden—
With Thy right hand, my kitchen.

¹ " Venit quidam magus . . et emit ancillam Dubtachi ; sed tamen ille non vendidit partum, quem habebat illa in utero." *I'ila i^{ma}*, cap. i, similarly told in iv and v.

² Ussher reckons that she was born in 453 ; and with this Dr. Lanigan agrees. The *Annales Cambriae* give 454. The *Annals of Inisfallen* give 456. She died in 525, and if she were then aged eighty, this would give as the year of her birth 445. But was she eighty when she died ?

My kitchen,
The kitchen of the White God,
A kitchen which my King hath blessed,
A kitchen stocked with butter.

Mary's Son, my friend, come thou
To bless my kitchen,
The Prince of the World to the border,
May He bring abundance with Him.¹

As she was able to exhibit abundance of butter, and all of excellent quality, the Druid and his wife expressed their satisfaction. Then Brigid seized the opportunity to entreat them to give liberty to Brotsach, and as the woman was in failing health, the Druid consented. On Brigid's return to her father's house, petty annoyances recurred. Dubtach, for the sake of domestic peace, failed to take up her cause; he sent her, so as to be out of the way, to keep swine in the oakwoods. At length, to be relieved of the annoyance, he resolved on selling her, and thought to dispose of her to Dunlang, son of Faelan,² king of Leinster.

Seeing that the poor girl was pleased at being in the chariot with him, Dubtach said roughly: "Do not suppose it is out of regard for you that I am taking you this drive, but to sell you to grind corn in the quern of Dunlang."³

When Dubtach went into the fortress, he left his chariot outside, with Brigid in it, and also a handsome sword that had been given him by the King. He told Dunlang his purpose, and extolled the good qualities of his daughter. Presently the King said that he would go out and have a look at the girl, before coming to terms.

Now, whilst this was going on within, a leper came to the side of the chariot whining and asking alms. Brigid at once handed to him her father's sword, and the fellow made haste to disappear with it.

When Dunlang and Dubtach issued from the Caer, the latter at once missed his sword, and inquired after it.

"There came a poor wretch here begging," answered Brigid, "and having nothing else to give him, I let him have that."

"A wench so free-handed with other people's property is not for me," said Dunlang, laughing; "I will not have her at any price."

¹ *Vita* in Book of Lismore, *Anec. Oxon.*, pp. 186-7. The hymn is not in the Latin Life by S. Ultan. In *Vita* 4th all this part of the story falls out, as the MS. here is fragmentary.

² He is not named in *Vita* i or iv, but is so in the Irish Life in the Book of Lismore, which however confounds him with Dunlang, son of Enna Nia, his great-grandfather. Dunlang, son of Faelan, died before 460.

³ *Book of Lismore*, p. 187.

Consequently, in very bad humour, Dubtach had to return home, with his daughter.

He now sought to dispose of her in marriage, but the girl showed great repugnance to be so got rid of. One of her half-brothers was violent, and ill-treated her. In an altercation she had with him, he hit her and almost blinded her in one eye. According to one version of the story, the family sought to dispose of her to Dubtach, the chief bard of King Laoghaire, an elderly man and a widower, and she, at the time, could hardly have been above sixteen. But she resolutely refused the honour, and insisted on taking the veil. She was accordingly allowed to have her own way, and was veiled by Bishop Macchille about the year 469. Macchille, according to Tirechan, was then at Usny Hill in West Meath, and we may infer that the residence of Brigid's father was in that part of Leinster. Macchille would be the nearest bishop to her father's house. Some biographers have confounded him with Mel of Ardagh, and even with Maccaldus, bishop of Man. But the error has arisen through similarity of names.¹

Macchille invested her with a white cloak, and placed a white veil on her head. She had at the same time with her several virgins, usually said to have been seven, but said by others to have been three. That account which gives the larger number relates that each of the maidens chose a Beatitude, as representing the grace to which she specially devoted herself, and Brigid selected that which referred to the quality of Mercy. As, when she became abbess, she exercised jurisdiction over Bishop Conlaeth, and this puzzled late writers, they feigned that the bishop in dedicating her, made a mistake, and read over her the consecration to the Episcopate.

The reason why Bishop Mell was supposed to have veiled her perhaps was that she had her first settlement in the plain of Teffia, at Longford, in his diocese. It is, however, difficult to follow the exact order of her foundations. Moreover, for some time she led, as we may judge, a wandering life, much as did the bards with their peripatetic schools. She was famous for the ale she brewed, and on one occasion supplied seventeen churches in Meath with liquor from Maundy Thursday to Low Sunday.² She also furnished Mel, her diocesan, with beer continually.³ Lepers and poor people clamoured for her ale, and on

¹ " Sancta Brigida pallium cepit sub manibus filii Cuille in Huisniach Midi," quoted by Ussher, p. 1031.

² *Vita* 1st, Mel et Melchu; *Vita* 2nd, Machalle; *Vita* 3rd, Melchon; *Vita* 4th, this portion of the life is lost; *Vita* 5th, Machilenus; Life in *Book of Lismore*, Mel. See Lanigan, *op. cit.*, i, p. 386.

³ *Book of Lismore*, pp. 188-9.

one occasion she bluntly told them that all she could give them was her bath-water.¹ The biographer improves this story into a miracle, her tubbing water was converted into excellent beer. Indeed such was her desire to supply the Saints with wholesome home-brewed ale, that the only hymn of hers that has been preserved, runs as follows :—

I should like a great lake of ale
For the King of Kings !
I should like the whole family of heaven
To be drinking it eternally.²

One day Bishop Mel arrived with a large party of clerics, and clamoured for breakfast. "This is well for you to be hungry," replied Brigid, "but we also are hungry and thirsty, and that for the Word of God. Go into the church first and serve us with the spiritual banquet. After that we will attend to your victuals."

As she still suffered from the eye that had been injured by her half-brother, Mel advised her to have recourse to a physician, and offered to take her in his chariot to one. She consented. But on the way, the driver upset the vehicle, and Brigid was pitched out on her head, which was cut by a stone. After that she declared that her eyes were better for the blood-letting she had involuntarily undergone.³ To recruit her community, she took in quite young children. One day a mother came to see her, bringing her little girl along with her. Brigid asked the child whether she would like to live with her and be a nun. The mother hastily replied that the little one was still an infant, and could not answer for herself. Brigid however persisted, and when she wrung a consent from the little girl, she insisted that the child had declared her vocation, and must remain in the community.⁴ This the biographers have magnified into a miracle, by converting the *infans* into a born mute.

Of the charity of Brigid many instances are recorded. One day a woman brought her a basket of apples as a present, and was much annoyed when the abbess distributed them among some lepers, who lived on her charity. "I brought them for you, and not for these wretches," said she. "What is mine is theirs," answered Brigid.⁵

Once she was driving in her chariot over the plains of Teffia with other nuns, when she saw some poor people, a man with his wife and children, toiling under heavy loads. She immediately alighted, made her nuns do the same, and lent her vehicle to the family ; then sat by the roadside, till they had done with the conveyance.⁶

¹ "Vita," *Cod. Sal.*, col. 41. *Vita* 5th, cap. ix.

² The entire hymn is printed in O'Curry's *MS. Materials for Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, p. 616.

³ *Book of Lismore*, p. 189. *Vita* 1st, cap. iv.

⁴ *Vita* 1st, cap. xvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. iv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. iv.

She was visiting another convent, when the abbess ordered some of her nuns to wash the feet of the old sisters. They made faces, and tried to get out of the obligation by offering various excuses. Then Brigid jumped up, girded herself, and put them to shame by herself discharging the unwelcome task.¹

A scandal having spread that Bishop Bron was the father of a child, S. Patrick came to Tell Town to investigate the matter, and Brigid also was there. A woman insisted on the paternity of her child resting with Bron. Brigid suggested an ingenious expedient for settling the difficult question. The child was asked to point out its father, and, as it indicated another man, Bron was acquitted.²

This would seem to be the gathering at Tell Town to which Patrick certainly went, when Cairbre, brother of King Laoghaire, sought to kill him, and caused his attendants to be beaten.

Patrick then cursed Cairbre—"Thy seed shall serve the seed of thy brethren, and there shall be no king of thy race for ever," a prophecy which, as Dr. Todd has shown, failed in its accomplishment.³

The date of this convention is not easy to determine. It must have been early in Brigid's career, as we may judge from what follows. A man at this time invited Brigid to go to the new house he had built, and consecrate it, but finding that the man was a heathen, and an opponent of S. Patrick, she refused, unless he would consent to be baptized. To this condition he submitted, and she asked Bron to baptize him. S. Patrick then said, "She must have a priest always at hand," and he ordained one Nadfraich to be her chaplain. She had not yet founded Kildare, nor engaged Bishop Conlaeth. But her fame was spreading.

She was invited by S. Lassair to visit her. The site of the Saint's monastery has not been satisfactorily determined. Whilst with her, Lassair asked Brigid to take over the establishment and affiliate it to her own. And to this she agreed.

Whilst she was with Lassair a virgin arrived who lived as a beggar, wandering over the country. She complained to Brigid that she had exhausted the charity of the people. Then Brigid gave her the girdle she wore, and bade her trade on that, as a charm. The woman did so. Sick people asked the loan of it, and paid for its use, and some supposed that it had done them good.⁴

About this time she made the acquaintance of Bishop Erc of Slane,

¹ *Book of Lismore*, pp. 130-1.

² *Vita 1st*, cap. v. A somewhat similar story is told of S. Brice.

³ Todd, *S. Patrick*, pp. 439-440.

⁴ *Vita 1st*, cap. vi; *Vita 4th*, cap. v.

and she travelled about with him in Munster. This was probably in 484, a date we can fix, because it was during this expedition that S. Brendan was born, and it was not till some years later that Brendan became the pupil of Erc.

From Munster Brigid returned east with Erc, and went into the Deisi country. But it was probably whilst she was in Munster that a curious incident occurred.

A certain master, with his pupils, was on his way west to find an island on which he might settle. He and his party passed near where Brigid was with her nuns, and the pupils suggested to their instructor that it would be well to pay her a visit, obtain her hospitality, and taste her excellent beer. The master, however, demurred. He did not approve of association with women, and so pushed on his way, with the result that they had to camp out in the open air. During the night, Brigid carried off all their baggage, and in the morning the master and his pupils were forced to retrace their steps and beg humbly to have their goods surrendered. "Not," said Brigid, "till you have partaken of my hospitality." She detained them there for three days and three nights.¹

In the Deisi country Brigid founded Kilbride.

A council of bishops was held in Magh Femhin, in Ossory, which had been given to the Deisi by Aengus MacNadfraich, who had expelled the Ossorians from it, sometime between 460 and 480. The gathering probably concerned the religious organization of the Deisi in their new lands. At it Erc lauded the virtues of Brigid highly, and recommended the Deisi to accept her as the instructress of their daughter.

Whilst she was in these parts she made the acquaintance of Bishop Ibar. As there had been bad harvests, she ran short of food, and went with two of her nuns to visit the bishop at Begery. The time was Lent, and Ibar brought out for supper bread and bacon. Brigid and he ate, but presently she noticed that the two nuns sat stiff and with their noses in the air. They were not going to eat meat in Lent, not they. Brigid might forget herself—but they would keep the fast as behoved good Christians.

Brigid started from her seat, took them by the shoulders, and turned them out of the house, after having read them a lecture before the bishop. Then she opened her trouble to Ibar. She wanted food to take back with her. The bishop expressed his regret—his barns were empty. But Brigid knew better. She had made inquiries beforehand, and was well aware that he had twenty-four waggon loads of wheat stowed away. So now it was Ibar's turn to receive a harangue. He

¹ *Vita* i^m, cap. xii.

submitted shamefacedly, and finally consented to let her have twelve loads.¹ It was perhaps at this time that she paid a visit to her father in Meath, and found him unmercifully thrashing one of his maids. She interceded for the poor woman, and reproved Dubtach for his inhumanity. Next day a servant said to her, "Would to God you were always here to protect us from the master's violence."

Dubtach then begged his daughter to do him a favour. It seemed that the sword that Brigid had given away had been recovered by Dunlang, and it was now in possession of Iollan, Dunlang's son and successor. Dubtach was sore about it, and wanted his sword back; so he urged Brigid to use her best efforts to recover it for him. She consented. On reaching the royal court one of Iollan's retainers entreated Brigid to receive him as her servant. He had been harshly and roughly treated by the king, and his heart was broken.

Iollan had been baptised by S. Patrick in 460, but his Christianity was a veneer, nothing more. She asked the king to surrender the man to her and to let her have her father's sword again, which had been presented to him by Dunlang, but which she had long before given away, as a girlish artifice to save herself from being sold into slavery.

"What will you give me for them?" asked Iollan.

"I will promise you eternal life, and a continuation of the royal title in your family."

"As to eternal life," said the King of Leinster, contemptuously, "I have never seen a glimpse of it. As to the continuation of the sovereignty to my sons, the boys must look to that themselves. But promise me a long life, and victory over my enemies, and sword and slave are thine."

This Brigid promised, and he surrendered to her what she solicited. Then as, at the time, he was engaged in war with the Hy Niall in Magh Breagh, he insisted on her going to battle with him, bearing her staff and cursing his enemies.

This she did, and Iollan gained a victory, which he attributed to the force of her imprecations on the enemy. After that he fought nine battles with the Hy Niall, and was successful in all. Iollan died in 506, and was buried in Brigid's church at Kildare.²

Whilst Brigid was with the Deisi she was one day driving in her chariot over the plains of Magh Femhin, when her charioteer, who was

¹ *Vita 1st*, cap. vii; *Vita 4th*, cap. iv; *Vita 5th*, cap. xiv.

² *Vita 4th*, cap. ii. A curious story is connected with Iollan. After his death the Leinstermen were so convinced of his efficacy in war, that in their battles against the Hy Niall, they put his dead body in the royal chariot, and made it precede them to battle.

also her priest, Nadfraich, observed that a new settler had encroached on the common land, and hedged in a field across a portion where supposed there was right of way. Brigid advised to turn aside, Nadfraich would not hearken to this, and drove straight at the hedge, with the result that he upset the car and threw Brigid out.

On another occasion when Nadfraich was driving her, she asked him to give her a religious exhortation, and he did this without attending to the horses, with the result that one of them kicked over the traces and bolted with the chariot, and all but brought about a repetition of the upset.²

From Leinster Brigid removed into Connaught. No reason is given in the *Lives* for this transfer, but it was doubtless occasioned by the desolating wars in Leinster, in which the Hy Niall and Iowla were engaged. In a country swept by invaders, and partially depopulated, she could not carry on her great work of education with comfort and advantage.

She had been in Connaught as a little child, for the Druid and his wife had taken her there, but the stay had not been lengthy. She now settled in the plain of Magh-ai in Roscommon.

Her stay in Connaught on this occasion was not for long. She had been with Erc in Munster in 484, and in 487 she was back in Leinster, but brief as was her residence there, her strong personality left its mark, and we find that, later on, the Hy Many regarded her, along with S. Grellan, as a patroness, and paid a penny for every baptism in the tribe to the monastic establishment at Kildare.³

She returned to Leinster on the urgent entreaty of King Iollan, who offered her a central position for the foundation of a large religious establishment for men and women. When she came back, she selected a site on the clay ridge that rises above the plain of Magh Breagh. A huge wide-spreading oak grew on it, a tree of vast age, and one that served as a landmark, and had possibly received idolatrous veneration. Here she established her *cill*, which took its name from the oak, and became famous as a monastery and an episcopal seat, Kildare.

Cogitosus, in his Prologue, tells us that innumerable people of both sexes flocked to her, "from all the provinces of Ireland," bringing their free-will offerings; and in that time of harassing warfare, the monastery became an asylum for those who felt no vocation for arms. She became the head of a great ecclesiastical tribe or clan.

As Dr. Todd well says:—"The state of society rendered it practica

¹ *Vita* 1^{mo}, cap. xii.

² *Vita* 4^{ta}, cap. iii.

³ O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of the Hy Many*, Dublin, 1843.

impossible to maintain the Christian life, except under some monastic rule. The will of the chieftain was law. The clansman was liable at any time to be called upon to serve upon some wild foray, in a quarrel or feud with which he had personally no concern. The domestic ties were unknown, or little respected. No man could call his life or property, his wife or children, his own ; and yet, such is the inconsistency of human nature, the people clung to their chieftains and to their clan with a fidelity and an affection which continue to the present day. Hence the spirit of clanship readily transferred itself to the monastery."¹

Under the crosier of the abbot or abbess there was peace. The right of sanctuary was rigorously maintained, and generally respected. Kildare, according to Cogitosus, became the "head of nearly all the Irish churches, and the pinnacle towering above all monasteries of the Scots, whose jurisdiction (*parochia*) spread throughout the whole Hibernian land, reaching from sea to sea." Brigid then, he adds, reflected that she ought to provide "with prudent care, regularly in all things, for the souls of her people," as well as for the churches and monasteries that were affiliated to her main foundation. She therefore came to the conclusion "that she could not be without a high priest to consecrate churches, and to settle ecclesiastical degrees in them." There was a kinsman named Conlaeth, living the life of a hermit at Old Connell, near the modern town of Newbridge, in the county of Kildare. His chantry lay about a quarter of a mile from the river Liffey, on its right bank. No traces of his cell and oratory remain above ground, but the site, overshadowed by elders, and overgrown with nettles, has been for ages a favourite burial-ground, and the earth has risen above the interments.²

Conlaeth was a notable artificer in metals, and diversified his time between prayer, study, and hammering out bells. One day he took it into his head to visit his cousin. So he drove to Kildare, with a boy to attend to the horses. On reaching the great monastery, he was well received, given a hot bath, a banquet, and plenty of Brigid's famous home-brewed ale.

He found himself so comfortable that he remained there several days. On leaving, he requested Brigid to bless him and his chariot. That done, he drove off. On reaching his cell, after crossing the grassy undulating Curragh, he found that the linchpin was not in one of his axles, and considered that it must have been due to the blessing of Brigid that the wheel had not come off, and he been upset on the way.³

¹ Todd, *S. Patrick*, p. 505. ² O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, v. p. 73.

³ *Vita 1^{ma}*, cap. vii ; *Vita 3^a*, cap. vii.

When Brigid had resolved on having a bishop of her own attached to her clan, she thought on Conlaeth, who was suitable, not only on account of his worth, but also as being a kinsman. She accordingly sent for him, and proposed to have him consecrated bishop. He agreed to her proposal, and she engaged him, "to govern the church with her in episcopal dignity, that nothing of sacerdotal order should be wanting in her churches."¹

In this way, says Cogitosus, he "was the anointed head and chief of all bishops, and she the most blessed chief of all virgins."

Cogitosus gives us a description of the church as it was in his time but lets us understand that it was practically the same in its general arrangement as ordered by Brigid. Under one roof were three compartments, and the body of the church had a wall running down the centre and rising to a considerable height. On the one side of this wall were the men, on the other, women, who attended divine service. On the right hand was a doorway, through which the bishops and clergy and male students entered, and apparently these latter occupied the right-hand chapel, and the bishop and clergy the choir. On the left hand was another door through which entered Brigid and her nuns and the female pupils, and they, as far as we can follow the description, filled the left-hand chapel.²

Conlaeth and Brigid got on without much friction, but they had occasional quarrels. He had a set of handsome foreign vestments, in which he celebrated "on the festivals of our Lord, and the vigils of the Apostles." These, according to Cogitosus and the Metrical Life attributed to S. Broccan, she gave away to the poor. He was very angry, and was only appeased when she produced others, richer and more elaborately embroidered, as a present to him. An interesting point in this story is that he is said to have brought these vestments from Leatha, *i.e.* from Brittany.³ That Conlaeth was at one time in Brittany we may suppose, for he is there regarded as founder and patron of the church of Saint Coultz near Châteaulin in Finistère. But the final quarrel with Conlaeth took place much later, and shall be spoken of presently.

Whilst Conlaeth was bishop at Kildare the little Tighernach was brought to be baptized. A Leinster chieftain named Cairbre arrived

¹ "Convocans eum de eremo . . . ut Ecclesiam in Episcopali dignitate cum ea gubernaret," *Vita 2^{da}*, Prol. "Quem beata Brigida primum elegit in sua civitate Kildara," *Vita auct. Animoso apud Colgan*, ii, cap. xix.

² *Vita 2^{da}*, cap. viii.

³ She blessed the vestments of Conlaeth which he had brought from Leatha.

Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 517; also *Liber Hymn.* ii, p. 44.

with his infant son at Kildare. Brigid received them courteously, and taking the child in her arms, called on Conlaeth to baptize him, and she herself stood sponsor to him.¹ Tighernach later became Bishop of Clogher and Clones.

Conlaeth made himself very useful at Kildare ; he not only exercised his office as bishop, but he also worked at the anvil and made many beautiful metal crosiers, bells, and book covers. In the end, however, he proved restive under petticoat government, and told Brigid it was his intention to travel. He wanted to see Rome. Brigid forbade his leaving. He persisted, and in a fit of feminine anger she cursed him, and wished him an evil death. Conlaeth, however, departed, and as he was crossing the Leinster plain, he was attacked by wolves and torn to pieces.²

Some of the stories told of Brigid show that she was possessed of a dry humour ; an epigram of hers has been preserved on one of the nuns afflicted with an infirmity, which is too broad to be transcribed.³

Some stories throw curious sidelights on the customs of the times. During a bitterly cold winter, an old nun in the community was thought to be dying, and the sisters approached Brigid with a suggestion that it would be advisable to strip her of her garments before she died, as there might be inconvenience in getting them off when she was dead and stark. They were perplexed and astonished when Brigid objected to such inhuman treatment.⁴

It was habitual for the saints to maintain a number of lepers. At Kildare there were several. One who was fairly sound was ordered by Brigid to scour another, who was very dirty. He rudely refused. Thereupon she herself put the man in a tub and washed him.

One leper became so pampered and insolent that he exercised a veritable tyranny over Brigid. On a certain occasion King Iollan called at Kildare, and the fellow pestered the abbess to demand of the king his shield and spear, because he wanted them. She very naturally refused. Thereupon the leper sulked, and said he would starve himself to death. Brigid was weak enough to send after Iollan, to entreat him to surrender his spear and shield, as the only means of inducing the stubborn leper to eat his food.⁵

A girl came to Kildare on Easter Eve, and after seeing the abbess and giving her a present, said that she must return home, as her parents

¹ *Vita Sti. Tighernach* in *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 211-2.

² Scholiast on the *Félire* of Oengus, under May 6.

³ *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson, London, 1898, ii, p. 59.

⁴ *Vita* 1^{me}, cap. xv.

⁵ *Vita* 1^{me}, cap. viii.; *Book of Lismore*, p. 195.

were coming to the Paschal Eucharist, and the house must not be left unwatched. Brigid persuaded her to remain, and next morning early the parents arrived. When they and their daughter returned home in the afternoon, they found that their byre had been broken into and their cows stolen.

Now this had been done by thieves from the further side of the Liffey, and they drove the cattle to the river. There they divested themselves of their clothes, which they attached to the horns of the beasts, hoping thereby that the clothing might be kept dry in crossing the Liffey. Then they attempted to drive the cattle across; but the beasts scattered, and proceeded to gallop back over the plain in the direction of Kildare, and the stark-naked men raced after them to endeavour at least to recover their garments, to the admiration of the whole community.¹

Brigid is said to have been fond of calling to her and caressing the wild duck and wild geese that abounded. They readily responded to her summons.²

She is reported to have been summoned by S. Patrick to Armagh, but this is more than doubtful.

One of her favourite young disciples was Darduglach. Now the girl was carrying on a flirtation with a youth, and he had endeavoured to persuade her to elope with him.

Brigid knew what was going on, and made Darduglach sleep with her. During the night, the girl was tossed between her desire to run away, and her conscience, which bade her stay. Unable to rest, she rose and went to the fire, and sat there looking into it, and holding her feet to the glow till the soles were scorched and tender; then she stole silently back to bed.

Next morning Brigid said: "I knew, dearest, the battle that was being waged in your heart. I said nothing, but I prayed for you all through the night."³

Notwithstanding that the story of Brigid has been enveloped in the frippery of extravagance, and the freshness taken out of it by absurd amplification with marvels, it is easy to see underneath, the outlines of a strong and noble character, full of zeal, courage, and withal marvellously tender.

Although her headquarters were at Kildare, she still went about a good deal, visiting her daughter institutions. Her order ramified in all directions, and extended into Wales and Brittany. It was held in Wales that she had crossed over there, and visited her affiliated houses.

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. vi.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xvii.

³ *Ibid.* 1st, cap. xvi.

So also it was held at Glastonbury that she not only had an institution there, but had resorted there for a while.¹

In Devonshire there is a cluster of Brigid churches, and the cult of this Saint is widely spread in Western Brittany. There is, however, no intimation in her Lives that Brigid ever quitted Ireland.

On one of her expeditions to see to the well-being of her *dalla* churches, she arrived in the plain of Cliach, whither she had turned aside to visit the king and intercede for a man he held in chains. The king was not in, but his foster-father and some of the family were there, and they invited Brigid to wait. She found that the time dragged, and observing some harps hanging in the hall, asked the old foster-father to sing a ballad. He professed his incapacity, his hands were stiff with age, and his voice cracked. However, by means of flattery and much persuading, the old fellow was induced to sing. When the king returned in the evening and heard the twanging of the harp, and the foster-father twittering his old songs in a broken discordant voice, he laughed heartily, and was put in so good a humour that Brigid easily induced him to consent to her request and release his captive.²

Among the disciples of S. Brigid were Brig, Darduglach, Cinnia, Dara and Blathmaic (her cook).

Among her friends were Gildas, who sent her a bell from his settlement in Brittany. Brendan visited her on his return from his first voyage, and told her a story of fighting seals, which amused her. Ailbe of Emly frequently visited her. Ibar of Begery called on her and drank her ale at Kildare. Mel of Ardagh died in 487, and she must have greatly felt his loss. Macchille, who had veiled her, died about 489. Bron, whom she had extricated from a discreditable scrape, died in 511; and Erc, with whom she had travelled in Munster, joined the Church at Rest in 512; Patrick in 491 or 492, according to one computation, and was buried in a winding sheet she had woven for him. A friend and fellow founder, Monynna or Darerca, was laid to rest in 517.

At last her own call came. Her age is not so certain as the date of her death. The Martyrology of Donegal says she died at the age of seventy-four. The author of her Life, which we call the sixth, who is supposed to have been Animosus, says she died in her eightieth year.

The *Chronicon Scotorum* hesitates between the seventy-seventh and the eighty-seventh. But the general opinion is that she was aged seventy.

¹ Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, App. 4th ad *Vita S. Brigidæ*, pp. 617-8.

² *Vita 1st*, cap. xii.

She received the last Communion from the hands of one Ninnidh. Many years before, when he was a schoolboy, he had run by her in a thoughtless and uncivil manner. She called him back, and asked whither he was racing. He replied impudently: "To the Kingdom of Heaven." Now he was a priest, and he happened to arrive as she lay on her death-bed, and from him she received the Bread of Life. A late fable said that he had had a prevision that so it would be, and had kept his hand enclosed in a box, that it might be clean for this last rite. Soap and water would have been more efficacious. But it is an idle legend, nothing more.¹

She was not at Kildare at the time, but in Ulster, on one of her visitations to her foundations.

She died, according to Nennius, four years after the birth of S. Columcille, and that would give us 525.² This is the date given by the *Annals of Inisfallen*, but Ussher and Colgan adopt 523, which is the date in the *Chronicon Sctorum*. The *Life by Animosus* says that she died thirty years after the death of S. Patrick, and this would give 522 or perhaps 523, if we take the above date as that of his death. This date, says Dr. Lanigan, is "almost chiefly founded on wrong suppositions of the year in which S. Patrick died, and on the admission of an unproved and indeed false assumption that S. Brigid survived him exactly thirty years." And "525 is a date best agreeing with what Nennius has concerning the birth of Columcille having been four years prior to the death of S. Brigid. It appears to be better supported than that of 523, which is the only one that can stand any competition with it."³

And this is the date given by the *Annals of Ulster*, and by the *Four Masters*.

The day of her death and Commemoration is February 1. On this day she is entered in all the Irish Martyrologies, in the Welsh Calendars, in most English and Scottish Calendars, and in the Breton and many Latin Martyrologies and Calendars.

The Pictish Chronicle says that "Necton morbit filius Erip (the Nectan of Bede, 624-642) xxiv regnavit. Tertio anno regni ejus Darduglach abbatissa Cilledara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britannicum. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethigi Deo et Sancte Brigide, presente Darduglach, que cantavit alleluia super istam hostiam."

¹ *Vita 1^{ma}*, cap. xii; *Vita 4^a*, cap. xv.

² Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, p. lxix; and Appendix L. "A nativitate Columbae usque ad mortem Stae Brigidae quatuor anni sunt."

³ *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, 1, p. 455.

The cause of this offering was that when Nectan, also called Morbreach or Morbet, was driven into Ireland he besought the intercession of S. Brigid. For the churches and chapels in Scotland, which are situated especially in those parts nearest to Ireland, and under Irish influence, see Bishop Forbes, *Scottish Calendars*, pp. 290-1.

In Wales there are at present no less than seventeen churches dedicated to her:—Dyserth (called also formerly Llansantffraid), Flintshire; Llansantffraid Glan Conwy (formerly called also Dyserth), in Denbighshire; Llansantffraid Glyn Ceiriog, in the same county. Llansantffraid ym Mechain, Montgomeryshire; Llansantffraid Glyndyfrdwy, Merionethshire; S. Bride's, Pembrokeshire, and the noble bay bears her name, as also the haven; Llansantffraid in Cardiganshire; Llansantffraid Cwmwd Deuddwr (or simply Cwmtoyddwr), Radnorshire; Llansantffraid yn Elfael, also Radnorshire; Llansantffraid-juxta-Usk in Brecknockshire; S. Bride's Major, S. Bride's Minor, and S. Bride's-super-Ely, in Glamorganshire; Llansantffraid, Skenfrith (Ynys Gynwraidd), S. Bride's Netherwent, and S. Bride's Wentloog, all in Monmouthshire. Bridstow in Erging (Herefordshire) is called "Lann Sanfreit" in the *Book of Llan Dâu*.¹

To these churches may be added the following chapels, now either in ruins or extinct:—Capel Sant Ffraid, under Holyhead, Anglesey; Capel Sant Ffraid, under Llansantffraid Glan Conwy, Denbighshire; and another under Nevern, Pembrokeshire; and Capel Ffraid, under Llandyssul, Cardiganshire. A conventual foundation of S. Ffraid's is said to have once stood on the Cardiganshire coast, about a mile to the north of Llanrhystyd. Llansantffraid is a little to the south of it. Kinnerley Church, Salop, now dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, had, it would appear, an earlier dedication to S. Ffraid.

In Devon are Bridestowe, with a sanctuary, Virginstow, and Bridgerule.²

In Cumberland the Brigid Churches are Bridekirk, Kirkbride, Brigham, and Bassenthwaite. At Chester was a parish church of S. Bride, near the Castle, now demolished. In Herefordshire is Bridstow. In Somersetshire Breane and Chelvey. Near Glastonbury was an islet called Bridesday, on which it was pretended that the Saint lived and died. But seeing that there were several Brigids, it is not necessary to assume that all these churches were originally under the patronage of the great abbess of Kildare. In London, S. Bride's was

¹ Ed. Evans and Rhys, p. 275.

² In Cornwall, on the Tamar, she had a chapel and holy well at Landue in Lezant. The Holy Well, in good condition, has been closed, owing to the water having been contaminated by some stables near at hand.

under her invocation, and the name of the royal palace of Bridewell shows that here she once had a holy well. In Scotland, as Bishop Forbes says, "the number of churches dedicated to her exceeds the power of our enumeration."

In Brittany, where she is called Berc'het or Perhet, she is patroness of Berhet in Côtes du Nord, of Lopherec (*Locus penitentiae Stae. Brigidae*) in Finistère; of Ste. Brigitte near Cleguerec in Morbihan; of Noyalo in the same department and on the inland sea, on the high road from Vannes to S. Gildas; of Kermoroch in Côtes du Nord, and of numerous chapels. At Pluvigner, an Irish settlement, she has her chapel. The parish church of Buléon in Morbihan is dedicated to her. Here is a little bronze bell, bearing the inscription *S. BREGE MA NOME*. At Locperhet in Crach, she has been dethroned to make place for S. Anne. In Grand-Champ is a fine chapel of flamboyant construction that bears her name at another Locperhet. In the island of Groix both she and Gildas had chapels. At Loccoal, in the peninsula of Plec, is a chapel of S. Brigid, and near it a *lech*, or early British tombstone, called la Quenouille de Ste. Brigitte. It is nine feet high, and near it is another, not so lofty, that is called her spindle. These, and there are many more, are in the diocese of Vannes. As many as thirteen churches and chapels are dedicated to her in Finistère. She was patroness of Spezet out of which Brest has grown, which is now under the invocation of S. Louis. She had a cult at S. Thegonnec. At Perguet by Audierne she has also a chapel, and here again in connection with an Irish Saint, S. Tujean. Hard by, at Esquilien she has also a chapel. At Guingat, between Quimper and Douarnenez, she is associated with S. David. At Motreff by Carhaix she had a chapel, and here it is hard not to see a connexion with Gildas.

In Brittany she is invoked by women before their confinement.

With thirteen dedications in Finistère, and fourteen in Morbihan, and several in Côtes du Nord, it is difficult not to suppose that she at one time exercised there a remarkable influence, probably through branch establishments from Kildare among the Irish settlers in Western Brittany.

S. Brigid, under the form Ffraid, is frequently mentioned in mediaeval Welsh literature. In an anonymous poem in the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*¹ she is invoked: "Sanffreid suynade in imdeith" (S. Ffraid, bless us on our journey). Lewis Glyn Cothi, in the fifteenth century, swears by her shrine.²

¹ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 44.

² "Myn bedd Sain Ffraid!" (*Gwaith L.G.C.*, p. 238).

The custom called "Cwrw Sant Ffraid," or S. Bride's Ale, is not infrequently mentioned, as, for instance, in the *Red Book of S. Asaph*, "quaedam consuetudo vocata Corw Sanfrait."¹

There were several persons in the Middle Ages who bore the name of Gwas Sant Ffraid, that is, the (tonsured) slave or servant of S. Ffraid.² The name, like several others of the kind, is not a proper Welsh compound, but is formed in imitation of a well-known Goidelic formula.

The betony is very often called in Welsh "cribau Sant Ffraid," her combs.

S. Brigid is represented as an abbess in white wool, with a white veil, and with wild geese at her side, or with an altar on which burns her perpetual fire; sometimes with an ox at her side. But in Brittany she is without these symbols. Many statues of her remain, but are not usually of much antiquity. Perhaps the most interesting is the most ancient, a fine figure in the little chapel of the SS. Dredeneau in the parish of S. G eran near Pontivy. This is of the end of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century.

S. BRIGID, of Cill-Muine, Virgin, Abbess

THERE can be no question that the Brigid who was in Wales was an entirely distinct personage from the Brigid of Kildare; the enormous popularity attaching to the latter enveloped the first, and led to their identification.

It must be remembered that Brigid, which is the diminutive of Br ig, is a common name. S. Brigid had several disciples of the same name as herself.

In the Tallagh Martyrology there are as many as seven Brigid commemorations apart from that of Brigid of Kildare; and in the Martyrology of Donegal is a Brigid of Cill-Muine or Menevia, commemorated as a distinct personage on November 12. In that of Gorman

¹ The custom is also mentioned in the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym, Iolo Goch, etc. Her Festival is thus alluded to in a rhyming calendar in Cardiff Library MS. 13, written in 1609—

Digwyl San Ffraid ydoedd fenaidd,
I bydd parod pawb ai wyrod.

² *Myv. Arch.*, p. 164, the Record of Carnarvon, etc.; cf. the Malbrigid of one of the Rune-inscribed crosses of the Isle of Man.

she is enrolled as "the gracious Brig with a (conventual) rule,' and the gloss adds, "Brig and Duthracht, from Cill-Muine were they."¹ Duthracht of Lemchaille is commemorated on October 25.

Now here we have a clear distinction between Brigid of Kildare and another Brigid who was at Cill-Muine. And who this Brigid was we ascertain from the Life of S. Monynna or Darerca. She was her disciple, and spying one night when the abbess was at prayer, she saw two swans fly away from the cell. When she told Monynna what she had seen she sent her away to have a religious house of her own elsewhere, and decreed that she should be blind.¹ Previously Monynna had sent her to Rosnat, *i.e.* Cill-Muine (S. David's), to learn there the rules of monastic life; and there she remained some time "in quodam hospiciolo."²

This Brigid, there can be no manner of doubt, is the Brigid who became known in South Wales.

Now in the Life of S. Modwenna by Concubran, we are informed that this Saint, together with Brigid and the damsels Luge and Athea, came over the sea from Ireland on a piece of detached ground, and that they landed "apud castrum Daganno nomine, juxta littus immensi maris," *i.e.* Deganwy Castle, near Conway. The piece of ground afterwards became fixed to the coast, and on it Capel Sant Ffraid was built, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile west from the present church of Llansantffraid Glan Conwy. By about 1740 "the sea had carried away part of it": by to-day the chapel has been entirely washed away. Bishop Maddox (1736-43) has the following note in MS. Z. in the Episcopal Library at S. Asaph on her Festival as observed here:—"On her day, Feb. 1, the R^r. reads prayers. And out of the offerings of that day is p^d 18^d., the Wardens, 12^d., and the Clerk 6^d.; the rest to the poor."

S. Brigid and Luge were here left by the other two, who moved on to Polesworth and the Forest of Arden. According to another tradition, Brigid is said to have landed in the estuary of the Dovey, perhaps at the place called Ynys y Capel, near Talybont;³ whilst another tradition makes her to have landed at Holyhead, and to have erected there Capel Sant Ffraid, which stood on an artificial *tomen* or

¹ Vita S. Monynnae, *Cod. Sal.*, coll. 181-2.

² "Inter alias Dei famulas quodam virgo, nomine Brignat, cum sancta virgine cohabitasse traditur. Hujus enim future sanctitatis indicia considerans, eam in Britanniam insulam, de Rosnatensi monasterio conversationis monastice regulas accepturam, misisse perhibetur." *Ibid.*, col. 179.

³ *Gossiping Guide to Wales*, ed. 1900, p. 213. A brook called Ffraid runs into the Eleri, a tributary of the Dovey, in North Cardiganshire.

mound by the seaside, on a sandy beach called Tywyn y Capel, about two miles from Holyhead ; but there is not any of it now left.¹

Now the Life of S. Modwenna by Concubran is a most unsatisfactory compilation. The author has combined Monynna or Darerca, who received the veil from S. Patrick, and was the disciple of S. Ibar of Begery, who died 500, with a second Monynna, who arrived from Ireland a century later, and became for a while superior of Whitby, and instructress of Elfleda, sister of Alfrid, king of Northumbria. Elfleda became abbess of Whitby, and died in 715. Not content with this anachronism, he farther identified her with S. Modwenna of Burton-on-Trent, who was the instructress of S. Edith of Polesworth, who died in 954, consequently he has combined in one terrible jumble three women, the first and last of which died at about 440 years apart in time. But this is not all ; the Irish Life of Monynna, alias Darerca, is itself a compilation of two Monynnas, so that the *Vita* by Concubran is an almost inextricable chronological puzzle.

The Brigid who landed in North Wales is not and cannot be the Brigid who studied at Cill-Muine, if the story is to be trusted that the latter was blind in later life, and lived in a monastery at but a little distance from Kildare. Nor can she have been a companion of the second Monynna, who stayed in Anglesey or Gwynedd, and was also forgotten in the greater glory of her namesake of Kildare.

We are obliged, from lack of information, to dismiss this latter Brigid, of whom even less is known than of the Brigid sent by Monynna to Cill-Muine. But we may safely assert that two Brigids visited Wales, one was in Mynyw, another in Gwynedd, and both were distinct from Brigid of Kildare.

We will now give the legend of S. Brigid as told in Wales. Brigid's name usually appears in its full form in Welsh as Sant Ffraid Leian,² that is, S. Ffraid the Nun. In mediaeval Wales she enjoyed a very widely diffused cult, being preceded in the popular estimation only by SS. Mary the Virgin, Michael the Archangel, and David the Patron of Wales. Her name is almost invariably given with the title of Sant, as is the case with most non-Welsh Saints.³

Iorwerth Fynglwyd, a prominent Welsh bard of the second half of

¹ Angharad Llwyd, *Hist. of Anglesey*, Ruthin, 1833, p. 203.

² There are not many instances in Welsh of the mutation of initial *br* into *ffr*.

³ In the composition of Welsh place-names Sant is dropped as a rule. The exceptions are few—Llansantffraid, Llansantior (near Abergele), Llansantffagan (also Llanffagan), and Lann Sant Guainerth (now S. Weonard's, in the *Book of Llan Dât*). Llandyfeisant (S. Tyfai), under Llandeilo Fawr, stands alone.

the fifteenth century, wrote a poem in honour of S. Ffraid, in which he gives briefly the legendary life, and enumerates the various miracles attributed to her.¹

The following is a summary of it. She was a beautiful Irish nun, the daughter of Dipdacws (Dubtach), of ducal lineage; she procured for the poor honey from stone; she gave her distaff to a ploughman to do duty for his broken mould-board; she converted butter that had been turned to ashes into butter again; she gave to a certain *cantref* all the cheese in the steward's store, but not so much as one was ever missed by him. She knew the Fifteen Prayers; whenever it rained heavily she would throw her white winnowing sheet on the sunbeams; when her father desired her to marry some one she did not like, one of her eyes fell out of its socket, which she afterwards put back, and it was as well as ever; she sailed on a turf from Ireland, and landed in the Dovey; she made of rushes, in Gwynedd, the beautiful fish—without a single bone—called *brwyniaid* (smelts), which she threw out of her hand among the water-cress; she went to Rome to S. Peter's; Jesus established her festival on Candlemas Eve, and it was observed with as much solemnity as Sunday.

In a longer metrical version of the legend (text not given, and doubtful whether by the same author) she is said to have sailed over with her maidens on green turfs, landing at Porth y Capel, near Holyhead, where she built a chapel on the little bank there. From thence she went to Glan Conwy, and founded Llansantffraid, and turned a handful of rushes into smelts, which she threw into the Conway.²

The legend of the *brwyniaid* is still current in the Vale of Conway. It is said that in the days of S. Ffraid there was a dire famine, which was alleviated by her miracle. The fish taste of rushes; hence the name. The Conway is famous for them.

S. BRIOC, Bishop, Confessor

THE Life of S. Brioc, written by an anonymous biographer, before 850, has been published from a tenth or eleventh century MS. by Dom Plaine, in the *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1883, but without the supplement, which is printed in the *Analecta* for 1904, pp. 264-5.

¹ A copy is printed in Williams, *History and Antiquities of Aberconwy*, Denbigh, 1835, pp. 198-200.

² Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains*, London, 1878, p. 386. Smelts or sparlings were also, if not so still, locally called pysgod Sant Ffraid (her fish).

A second Life, of very inferior value, from the Lections in the S. Briec Breviary, was published in the *Acta SS. Boll.* May 1, pp. 92-4. Albert le Grand, in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, made a very passable version of the Life from the Breviaries of S. Briec, Quimper, and Léon, 1st ed. 1636, new ed. 1901, pp. 151-7.

A third, a metrical life by a certain Peter, and in a fragmentary condition, is in the library at Rouen. This has been printed by the Bollandists in their *Analecta* for 1904, pp. 246-251. It adds nothing of importance to what we know from the *Vita*.

According to the author of the First Life, which we shall alone quote, the original name of the Saint was Briomagl, and this is a form which about the middle of the eighth century would have become Briomail,¹ later, Briafael, which is preserved in the Gloucestershire parish-name, S. Briavel's.

Brioc has the same derivation as Brychan, and signifies the "speckled," or "tartan-clad." It would seem to have been a tribal name, applied to the Hy Brachan, who occupied what, in later times, became the Barony of Ibrican in Clare. Members of this clan may have effected a lodgment in South Wales, and have given the appellation to Brecknockshire, though the probability is rather that the Brychan clan came from South Leinster.

Brioc's father was named Cerp, and was a princeling of Coritica.² Various opinions have been expressed as to the whereabouts of Coritica. Some have suggested Cork. But Corc signifies a marsh, and was not settled till S. Finbar erected a monastery there at the close of the sixth century. Dom Plaine proposed Kerry, that was the territory of the Corca Duibne, and did not acquire the name of Kerry till the fourteenth century.³

Another opinion is that of De la Borderie, who, trusting to a certain similarity of sound, and to nothing else, proposed Coria Otadaenorum, and assumed that Brioc was a native of Jedburgh in Teviotdale.⁴ Dom Plaine and De la Borderie argued that, because the parents of Brioc were heathens, they could not have lived in what all Welsh scholars agree to consider Coritica, namely Ceredigion, which com-

¹ J. Loth, *L'Emigration Bretonne*, Paris, 1883, p. 35.

² "Sanctus Briomaglus, Coriticianae regionis indigena . . . pater ejus Cerpus nomine, mater vero Eldruda vocata est." *Vita*, ed. Plaine, p. 3.

³ Camden has—"In Corcagiensi Comitatu urbs est *Corcagia Givaldo, Korke* Anglis . . . Briocum virum sanctissimum, a quo *Sanbriochiana* in Britannia Armorica diocesis vulgo S. *Brieu* nomen assumpsit, hinc oriundum scribit Robertus Cœnalis. Sed in hoc a veritate abiit." *Britannia*, 1594, pp. 654-5. The mistake was due to Cœnalis taking Coritica to stand for Cork.

⁴ *Hist. de Bretagne*, tome 1, pp. 301-2.

prised Cardiganshire and a portion of Pembrokeshire, because they assume that, in the fifth century, all Wales was thoroughly Christian. Neither was aware of the facts.¹

Ceredigion, or Ceretica, and the entire west and south-west of Wales, were occupied by pagan Irish in that century, till expelled by the sons of Cunedda, and by Urien Rheged. In fact, in or about 430, shortly after the death of Dathi, the Irish grip on Britain relaxed. There still remained on British soil numerous Irish settlements, and marauding excursions were frequent; but a wave of British power rolled south over Wales and swept the Irish away. If M. de la Borderie had looked at the Lives of S. David and S. Teilo, he would have seen that there were still Irish pagans in Pembrokeshire as late as the sixth century.²

Ceredigion is usually Latinized into Ceretica, but as S. Patrick changed Ceredig into Coroticus, in his famous letter, so the writer of the Life of S. Brioc rendered the name Coritica, instead of Ceretica, which latter was the form adopted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

According to the *Vita*, the father of Brioc was named Cerp. This is the Irish Coirpre or Cairbre. He was married to Eldruda, and her name is Saxon. "The common object of attack, Roman Britain," writes O'Curry,³ "brought Irish and Saxons in contact at an early period. And that this intercourse was, on the whole, of a most friendly character, is shown by the frequent inter-marriages which took place between them."

Eldruda was warned in a dream to make three staves—one of gold for her son Brioc, one of silver for herself, and a third of the same metal for her husband—and to lay them aside until Brioc was old enough to be given for instruction to a Christian bishop.

Something of the same kind occurs in the Life of S. Samson.⁴ Brioc happens to be a name found in Ceredigion and Brecknock on inscribed stones. Professor Rhys reads the Ogam-inscribed stone in Bridell churchyard, North Pembrokeshire, thus—"Nettasagru Maqui Mucoi

¹ "Mais il y a une objection très grave: d'après la vie de Saint Brieuc, le pays où il naquit était entièrement ou presque entièrement païen. Or, en 417, non seulement le pays de Cardigan, mais toute la province romaine de l'île de Bretagne située au sud du mur de Sévère était chrétienne." *Ibid.* The exact reverse was the case in Western Wales.

² Vita Sti. David, in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 124-6.

³ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I, p. xxxv.

⁴ *Vita* 2^a, ed. Plaine, lib. i, cap. ii. Redemption by weight of metal was a pagan custom, and existed in India and ancient Germany. *Y Cymmrodor*, 1899; and *Revue Celtique*, xi (1890), pp. 377-8.

Breci," *i.e.*, (Monumentum) Nettasagrûs filii generis Breci." This shows that Brec or Brioc was a clan name.¹

We have, further, the name with the prefix Ty in S. Tyfriog of Llandyfriog in Brioc's own country, Cardigan.

The Rickardston Hall stone, near Brawdy, has "Briac Fil. . . ." The last name is all but obliterated. The Llandefaelog stone, near Brecon, has "Briamail Flou," that is to say, "(The Cross of) Briomaglus Flavus."²

At a suitable age Briomagl was committed to S. Germanus to be educated, and he took him to Paris.³ Germanus, bishop of Paris, cannot be meant. He died in 576. Dom Plaine and De la Borderie assume that the Germanus spoken of as tutor to Briomagl or Brioc was S. Germanus of Auxerre, and construct the chronology of his Life on this assumption. But the author nowhere says that he was the great prelate of Auxerre. If he had been, the author would have made Germanus school him at his own cathedral seat and not in Paris.

Was the tutor of Brioc the Germanus who visited Britain in 429, and 447? Probably not. There was another Saint of the same name; as far as we can judge, he was an Armorican by birth, a disciple, perhaps a nephew, of S. Patrick. Rusticus and Germanilla were the parents of Germanus of Auxerre, in which city he was born in A.D. 378. The father of the Patrician Germanus, according to the Irish accounts, in the Lives of S. Patrick, is called Rechitutus, or Restitutus, "the Longobard," and his wife was Liemania, or Darerca, the sister of S. Patrick.

"The Bishop of Auxerre's father, according to the Cambrian account, was Rhedyw of Armorica . . . making him a native of Armorica very clearly shows that the name of the father of the Patrician German was assigned, from its similarity to Rusticus, in error to Germanus of Auxerre—a locality which was never included within the Armorican territory. Aldor, the king of Armorica, Llydaw, or Letha, as the Irish called that country, was married to a daughter of Rhedyw, the father of German."⁴

¹ *Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed., pp. 274, 394; *The Welsh People*, 1900, p. 53.

² *The Welsh People*, p. 568. The earliest known form of the name is "Brigomaglos," on an inscribed stone now in the Clayton Museum, near Chesters, on the Roman Wall (*Revue Celtique*, xi, p. 344). The modern literary form occurs in the place-name "Kelli Uriauael," "Briafael's Holt," in the Verses of the Graves (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 32).

³ "Mater ejus . . . suggerabat marito illum Parisiis ad beatum Germanum jam debere transmitti," p. 6. "Cum igitur ad virum Dei Parisius pervenissent," p. 7.

⁴ Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, Dublin, 1882, p. 171. See also Tab. ix.

This question of the confusion that has been made between the Armorican Germanus, who died in 474, and the Auxerre Germanus, who died in 448, shall be entered into more fully later. It has been the cause of many apparent anachronisms.

Germanus went to Ireland about 439. He founded a church, Kilgorman, in Wexford, and has given his name to Wexford Harbour, over against Cardigan, which in Irish is Loch Garmon. Now if Germanus were, as we know he was, in Wexford, labouring among the Hy Cinnsealach, and purposed to go back to Armorica, he would naturally ship across to Cardigan Bay, for the Welsh mountains are visible from the Irish coast. Thence he would make his way to some port on the south coast of Britain, perhaps Plymouth Sound, where perhaps he has left his name at S. German's.

In the Life of S. Brioc we are informed that Germanus had as his pupils Patrick and Illtyd along with Brioc.

Caerworgorn had been founded by Theodosius and Cystennin Gorneu, and Belerus had been its first president, but it had been ruined by the incursions of the Irish. Germanus is said to have refounded it. But was this Germanus of Auxerre? A Patrick, son of Maewon, was made superior there.¹ And this is perhaps the Patrick who is supposed to have died at Glastonbury in 494, and led to the supposition by the monks of Glastonbury that they possessed the body of the Apostle of Ireland. That this Patrick did work for a while in Ireland is possible enough.

There was again another Patrick, said to have been son of Sannan the Deacon, a kinsman of the great Patrick, who was also in Ireland. It is a moot point whether the Apostle of the Irish was ever with Germanus of Auxerre.² And it is conceivable that one or other of those namesakes, having been with Germanus the Armorican, may have led to the confusion.

Germanus of Auxerre is also said to have appointed Illtyd to Caerworgorn. This is chronologically impossible; but the difficulty is lessened if we suppose the German to have been the Armorican who had both Patrick and Illtyd as his disciples along with Brioc.

"It appears," says Mr. Shearman, "that a good deal attributed to S. Germanus of Auxerre in Cambrian hagiology may be justly transferred to the second and later Germanus; and the historical accuracy of the very early biographers still be upheld. It often happens that the fault we find in their apparent anachronisms and inconsistencies is

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 134.

² Todd, *S. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 314-21. Dr. Todd supposes that the association of Palladius, also called Patricius, with Germanus, led to the mistake.

to be attributed to our ignorance of the facts and persons of whom they write."¹

According to the biographer, Brioc was sent to Germanus when he was ten years of age, and remained with him till he was ordained to the priesthood. The candidates appeared before Germanus, but, just as the Celtic Church required that three bishops should be consecrated simultaneously, so it would seem that it was customary at an ordination to the priesthood, that there should be three candidates presented together. To make up the requisite number, Germanus chose Brioc, although, at the time, unprepared for the dignity. Brioc now resolved on returning home. Dom Plaine says *circa* 450, De la Borderie gives 448, supposing that this was due to the death of his master, the Auxerre Germanus. That identification rejected, the attribution of the date falls to the ground.

The cause may have been that the great Patrick had summoned German to the great work of evangelization going on in Ireland, and the date would be about 462.

On leaving Paris, Brioc took ship for the River Scene. This, may be, is the Cleddeu that flows into Milford Haven. *Scian* is Irish for knife or sword. So soon as the Irish were expelled from this portion of Wales, the river changed its name to Cleddeu, but kept its signification. Or it may mean the brook Cyllell, mentioned by Leland and George Owen.²

Brioc went to his home attended by one boy only. He was then aged twenty-five. He arrived at his father's house when the family was holding the mid-winter feast.³ There is some difficulty in accepting this statement. Certainly at that period no vessels would venture to make the perilous voyage from Llydaw to Wales at a time of winter gales. Either Brioc loitered on his way, or, what is more probable, the biographer has mistaken the midsummer feast for that kept in midwinter.

¹ *Loca Patriciana*, p. 169.

² "Venit puer . . . ad fluvium qui dicitur Gladius," Vita S. Aedui, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 236. This was the Cleddeu. Leland, *Itin.*, v, 28, says: "Ther is a litle Rille betuixt the 2 Gleves caullid Kolllell, i.e., Cultellus." And, further on: "Betwixt the two Gleves by Harford West is a litle Ryveret caullid in Walsch (Cyllell), in Englisch 'Knife.' One beyng requirid wher he lay al night, answerid that he lay having a swerd on eche side of hym, and a knife at his Hart, alluding to the 3 Ryvers in the midle of whom he lay al night." See also Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 98.

³ "Celebrabatur . . . die illo quo beatus ad domum patris sui devenit Briocius memoratum illud magnumque convivium, quod semper ab eo in Kalendis Januarii fieri erat consuetum," p. 11. The great winter feast of the Irish was, however, Samhain, Nov. 1.

Brioc found the family holding high festival with drinking, games, and ballad-singing. No sooner did his mother see her son than she rushed to him, and overwhelmed him with kisses,¹ and led him to his father who was almost beside himself with delight. What with the liquor he had imbibed, and the pleasure he felt at the meeting, the old man cried "and could hardly keep his feet."²

Brioc, if we accept his biographer's word, was not a little priggish, and he threw a damp cloth over the hilarity that prevailed by haranguing against intemperance and idolatry. The old couple bore this with good-natured suppressed impatience, forgiving much in their gladness at having recovered their son.

Brioc set to work to convert his parents and tribesmen. This was not an arduous matter. The highway to Britain and the Continent ran through their territory, and missionaries to and from Ireland were incessantly passing through. The Christian Britons from Strathclyde, under the sons of Cunedda, were bearing down on the Irish from the north with irresistible force; no succour was to be expected from Ireland; and the paganism of the Irish settlers in Ceredigion might serve as an excuse for their extermination. Brioc erected a church called Landa Magna (Llan Fawr), probably that which to this day bears his name in Cardiganshire, Llandyfriog.³ Pupils flocked to him, those who had been dispossessed by Ceredig doubtless hoping in religion to find a home and security. His mother, filled with enthusiasm, desired to leave her husband and be admitted to the monastic life, but this proposal aroused so much opposition in the family that she was compelled to abandon her intention. She had felt a leaning towards the Faith of Christ for many years, as is shown by her anxiety to have her son brought up as a Christian. And it speaks highly in favour of her sweet and loving nature, that the suggestion she made of retiring into religion should have roused such a

¹ "Ruit in oscula."

² Videns filium prae gaudio flere cepit, complectensque, et osculans, vix sese in pedibus prae immensa laetitia poterat continere," p. 12.

³ The prefix *to* or *ty*, attached to the names of several Welsh names, is a particle showing respect or esteem. We have it in Ty-suliau, T-eliau (Teilo). M. J. Loth says:—"It was customary among the ancient Bretons to give to their Saints and venerated persons more than one name; one, the true name, composed of two terms; the other terminates in *oc*, and was preceded by *to*. Winnoc who wrote the Life of S. Paul Aurelian in the ninth century, tells us, in connection with Quonoc, the Saint's companion, 'Quonocus quem alii sub additamento gentis transmarinae Toquonocum vocant.' These holy people were venerated in Brittany under both names. S. Conoc is in several places called Toconoc." *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, viii (1892-3). See also Whitley Stokes, in *Academy*, 1886, p. 152. There is a place called Llan Fawr in the parish of Eglwys Wrw, Pembrokeshire.

strong feeling of opposition in the family and whole clan. Although "ardentissime volebat," like a good woman she submitted.¹

But perhaps after all, when the old man died, she was able to follow her bent. We cannot be sure. S. Edeltruda is venerated in Brittany in the parish of Tréfléz by Plouescat in Finistère, and she has a chapel in the parish of Loc Brevelaire. The popular name of the saint is Ste. Ventroc, but that is not a personal name. Ventroc comes from *gwent*, the Breton for colics, which she is supposed to cure. Her day is June 23, that of Etheldreda of Ely.²

As we shall see presently, Brioc, when first landing in Brittany, came ashore in the estuary of the Aber Ildut in Finistère. But if Edeltruda of Tréfléz be his mother, she must have preceded him, as he did not arrive there till very aged.

Brioc spent a great part of his life in Britain. Unhappily the writer of the Life gives us no detailed account of what he did there.

A church in Rothesay bears his name, and he was venerated in the Isle of Bute. His presence in the Western Isles may be explained, if we suppose that Germanus, who had been sent by Patrick to be first bishop of Man, summoned his old pupil to him, and set him to labour among the Irish settlers in the isles and on the coast of Alba.

At length, when advanced in life, Brioc resolved on migrating into Armorica. The Irish were being driven "bag and baggage" by Ceredig out of Wales. The date of their expulsion is set down by Rees as having been between 380 and 430. But it cannot have been so early. Niall of the Nine Hostages held down the British with a firm hand, and died in 405. He was succeeded by Dathi, who reigned till 428, and both he and Niall had made of Britain a base for their military operations on the continent. It cannot have been till after the fall of Dathi that Cunedda and his sons ventured on their attack upon the Irish in Wales, and only by degrees were these latter expelled. It was in 480, or thereabouts, that Cadwallon Lawhir drove them from their last retreat in Anglesey.

Almost without doubt, it was on this account that Brioc resolved on quitting his native land, though the biographer does not intimate that it was so.³ He collected a large number of followers, as many as a hundred and sixty-eight, and with them embarked in one vessel. On

¹ *Vita S. Brioci*, ed. Plaine, c. xxviii.

² *L'Hermine*, 1906, p. 81.

³ He does, however, speak of a certain Tyrannus, from whom, in hunting, a stag fled and took refuge with the Saint, and of a great famine devastating the country. Probably the Tyrannus was Ceredig, and the famine a consequence of the invasion.

the voyage Brioc's huge coracle was nearly wrecked by fouling a whale. He put into a harbour for repairs. He was now an old man, and was conveyed on his land journeys in a cart; and, as he sat, he sang psalms. One evening, as he was chanting vespers, a pack of wolves approached; whereupon the brethren who had been dragging Brioc along in his cart, took to their heels, and left their abbot in the vehicle, which was at once surrounded by the pack. He shouted at the top of his voice, and presently some of his disciples ventured near, to see the wolves surrounding the cart, yet none of them so far had attacked the old man. Happily, at this moment, the chief man of the district, Conan by name, came up and drove the beasts away. Conan received Brioc with much kindness, and Brioc baptized him after subjecting him to a fast of seven days.

The harbour into which Brioc ran his vessel can be determined by his foundation near Wadebridge, at the head of Padstow Harbour. There was no other port except S. Ives Bay into which he could have run. Conan, we may presume, gave large donations to Brioc, for the parish of S. Breocke is one of the most extensive and rich in Cornwall.

The fact that Conan and his people were pagans would lead to the conclusion that they were some of the Irish who held north and west Cornwall, from which, as far as we know, they were never expelled. After having remained some time in Cornwall to accomplish the conversion of the tribe of Conan, and to organize a *llan* where now stands the church bearing his name, Brioc took ship again, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived at the Port d'Ach, now Le Conquest, in Plouguerneau in Finistère. Thence, it is said, but this is more than doubtful, he made his way to the Jaudy, and founded a monastery. Not long after, news reached him that a plague was ravaging his native land, and he resolved on returning to console the dying and minister to the panic-stricken inhabitants. The only pestilences of which we know about this period were the Blefed in 543 and the "Yellow Death" in 547-50. There was, however, one earlier, referred to by Gildas, the date of which it is not possible to fix.

Brioc then confided his monastery to his nephew Tudwal or Tugdual (Pabo Tugualo), and departed for Ceredigion. On the cessation of the plague he returned, and decided to leave his monastery in the hands of his nephew, and go elsewhere. He took with him eighty-four disciples and departed in a boat, and coasted till he reached the estuary of the Gouet, where he disembarked.

M. de la Borderie rejects all this portion of the story, on the ground that the biographer blundered in his geography, in making Tréguier on the Jaudy near the port of Ach; and because, in the Life of

S. Tudwal, there is no mention of his association with Brioc and of their subsequent separation.

The mistake made by the biographer may, however, be easily accounted for. Near the Port d'Ach is Lanpabu, Tudwal's first monastery, which, however, he abandoned for the more important plantation of Tréguier on the Jaudy. Lanpabu is now Trébabu. In the Life of S. Tudwal by a certain Loenan we are told that this Saint first landed in the port of Ach, precisely where, according to the biographer of S. Brioc, that saint disembarked. Afterwards Tudwal was granted land on the Jaudy, where he established himself, at Tréguier, and abandoned Lanpabu.

The writer of the Life of S. Brioc did not know about the earlier monastery, and confounded Lanpabu with Tréguier. We cannot see that we are justified in rejecting a serious statement because of this slip. The facts were probably these. During the absence of Brioc the monastic family was split into two parties, and the larger resolved on having at its head a younger and more energetic chief than Brioc, and when he returned, there ensued a revolt, which constrained him to leave his nephew in possession, and depart with those of the brethren who remained faithful to himself. It was not a creditable incident in the Life of Tudwal, and his biographer considered it advisable to pass it over unnoticed.

"Quidam ex eis videri sibi incongruum dicebant, si de ministerio quod nepoti suo commiserat, amplius eum mutare vellet. At ille cogitationes eorum intelligens . . . recessit ab eis, in pace cunctos dimittens."¹ This surely intimates that there was a quarrel, and that he was forced to leave.

On ascending the creek of the Gouet to the point reached by the tide where a lateral ravine enters it, forming a tongue of land, Brioc encamped beside a spring. A servant of Rhiwal, the chieftain of the British settlers in those parts, saw the monks and reported their arrival to his master. Rhiwal was at first displeased, but in an interview recognized a kinsman in Brioc,² and they came readily to terms.

Rhiwal gave up to his cousin Campus roboris, the Champ de Rouvre, and himself retired to Lishelion, now Hillion. Rhiwal was the son of one Deroch, and had come to Armorica at the head of a large number of colonists, and in process of time brought the whole of Domnonia under his rule.³

¹ *Vita*, ed. Plaine, c. xliii.

² "Hic est, ait (Rigualis) consobrinus meus Briocius, optimus transmarinorum dux," p. 22.

³ "Riwalus, Britanniae dux, filius fuit Deroci . . . hic Rhiwalus a trans-

Le Baud, on the authority of a Chronicle of Ingomar, now unhappily lost, says :—" Riuvallus, comte royal, pria Clothaire qu'il lui laissât posséder et exercer en paix ladite province (de Domnonée) avecques tous ceux qu'il avait amenez deçà la mer, et Clothaire lui donna congé de l'habiter, cultiver, posséder, donner, et vendre sous sa parole, domination et puissance, et de ses successeurs après lui, tant que les hommes y pourroient habiter." ¹

From a summary of the Life of S. Malo by Bili, made by Leland, we learn that Brioc as well deemed it advisable to go to Paris, so as to obtain confirmation of the grant from Childebert. ²

This is not mentioned in the copies we possess of the Life of Brioc. But there is a reason for the omission, as has been pointed out by M. de la Borderie. ³ After Nominoë had freed Brittany from Frank rule (846), it was eminently distasteful to Breton readers to find that the bishops of their sees had gone to Paris for confirmation, and the passage recording the journey to the capital of the Frank kingdom was excised from all copies written later than the middle of the ninth century. Rhiwal died, according to the conjecture of De la Borderie, in 530. On his death-bed he made over to Brioc all his *plou* at Lishillon, and his son Deroc succeeded to the chieftainship over Domnonia. ⁴ Whether it were now, or when the earlier donation was made, that Brioc visited the court of Childebert we do not know.

Brioc now organized his ecclesiastical clan in the usual Celtic fashion. As he was becoming very aged, and grew anxious about his spiritual condition, he was wont to retire into a cave where flowed a perennial spring, there to remain in solitude and commune with God. His cave has been converted into a subterranean chapel under a large flamboyant chapel, and the fountain is covered with a stone structure of the same period.

Apparently not long after the death of Rhiwal, Brioc fell ill, and died at the age of ninety. At the time of his death a priest named Marcan saw a vision of angels bearing his soul to heaven. This man has left his name associated with a parish church in the Bay of S.

marinis veniens Britannis cum multitudine navium possedit Minorem Britanniam, tempore Clotharii regis Francorum, qui Chlodovei regis filius extitit. Ex Cod. MS. Sti. Vedasti, Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.* saec. iii.

¹ Le Baud, *Hist. de Bretagne*, 1638, p. 65. His book was, however, written 130 years before.

² "Britonum episcopi videlicet Sampson, Machu, Paternus, Corentinus, Paulus Aurelianus, Pabu Tutwallus, Briomelius . . . una die petierunt palatium Philiberti regis," *Coll.*, i, pp. 430-2. We adopt the correction of two names proposed by De la Borderie. Philibert is Childebert.

³ *Bulletin de la Société Arch. du dep. d'Ille et Vilaine*, tome xvi (1884), p. 309.

⁴ *Vita*, p. 25.

Michel, near Pontorson. Moreover, a monk named Simaus or Sivanus, in his native land dreamt that he saw Brioc ascend by a ladder into the heavenly land. He took ship, and after a voyage of seven days arrived at the Breton monastery in time to take part in the obsequies. He must have remained in Domnonia, for he is regarded as the patron of Lancieux near Ploubalay.

We must now consider the statement that Rhiwal recognized Brioc as his cousin (*consobrinus*). From the Life of S. Tudwal we learn that this latter was the son of Pompeia, the sister of Rhiwal.¹ As we have already seen, Tudwal was nephew (*nepos*) of Brioc.

According to the Life of S. Leonore, that Saint was the son of Eloc, and his mother was Alma Pompa. Apparently, Pompa is the same as Pompeia, and if so Leonore and Tudwal were brothers. The name Eloc is the short for Hoeloc, or Hoel with the common termination of *oc* appended. Tradition, the origin of which is uncertain, makes Hoel the father of S. Tudwal.²

If the husband of Pompeia were Hoel, then he apparently comes into one of the pedigrees preserved by the Welsh. He was Hywel, the son of Emyr Llydaw, or Emyr of Armorica. Emyr had, beside Hoel, who may have been the husband of Pompeia, Gwyndaf, who was father of S. Meugant, whom we discover close to S. Briec at La Méaugon (Lann Meugant), also of Gwen Teirbron, wife of Fracan, who settled on Rhiwal's lands hard by. Hoel himself founded a church in Pembrokeshire, Llanhowell, under Llandeloy.

If we come now to the question of the chronology of Brioc's life, we have to abandon the calculations built on the assumption that he was the pupil of Germanus of Auxerre. He belonged to the generation before that of Tudwal. Tudwal's death took place in 553 or 559, more probably at the latter date. Deducting a generation from the mean we have 523 as the approximate date of Brioc's death, but as he lived to the unusually advanced age of ninety we can hardly place his decease earlier than 530. This is precisely the year in which, according to De la Borderie, Rhiwal died, and from the text of the life it would seem that Brioc did not long survive him.

Accordingly Brioc was born about 440. He was sent to Germanus then in Paris in 450, and returned to Ceredigion in 463. Germanus died in 474, so that if Brioc went to assist him in the Western Isles among the Irish colonists, it must have been soon after his return

¹ "Mater ejus Pompaia erat nomine soror Riguali comitis, qui primus venit de Brittonibus citra mare." Vita 1^{ma} S. Tuduali, *Mém. de la Société Arch. des Côtes du Nord*, tome ii (1885-6), p. 84.

² Garaby, *Saints de Bretagne*, S. Briec, 1839, p. 529.

home. We do not know the precise date of the expulsion of the Irish from Ceredigion, but it was about 480 that they were driven out of Anglesey. They were not, however, cleared from part of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen till somewhat later, when S. David undertook the ecclesiastical organization of the Welsh about the Cleddeu. Almost certainly it was these troubles that compelled Brioc to migrate, but perhaps he did not leave till nearer 500 than 480, as he is spoken of as old when he departed. Childebert reigned from 511 to 558. We must allow a certain time to Brioc in Cornwall before he departed for Armorica. There is, of course, no truth in the statement quoted by Leland from Bili that all the bishops he named visited Childebert the same day; Leland may have misread the text. Dom Plaine supposes that Brioc died in 515, and De la Borderie in or near 520. We should put it certainly ten years later. The approximate date of the death of his fellow pupil S. Illtyd was 537, but at that we arrive by a rough calculation.

In Wales, the only foundation of Brioc is Llandyfriog in Cardiganshire.¹ But S. Briavel's (from Briomagl) in Gloucestershire shows that he had been there. In Cornwall his sole church is S. Breocke near Wadebridge. In Brittany he is patron of the diocese of S. Briec, and of the churches of Caulnes and Hillion, in Côtes du Nord, the latter of which was the *lis* made over to him on his deathbed by Rhigual; also S. Briec de Mauron and S. Briec des Iffs. The former is in Morbihan, the latter in Ille-et-Vilaine.

Such representations as remain do not give Brioc any characteristic symbol, but he might well be figured in abbatial habit, or as a bishop with a wolf at his feet. He is regarded as the patron of purse-makers.

S. Brioc's Day is May 1. Brev. Briocense, 1537, the thirteenth century Brev. of S. Yves at Tréguier, the MS. Calendar of S. Meen, fifteenth century, the MS. Breviary of S. Melanius, Rennes, and in that of Quimper.

In that of Léon for 1736 it is transferred to May 7. In that of Quimper for 1701 it is on May 3. In the Tréguier Breviary of 1770, on April 27, in the S. Malo Breviaries of 1537 and 1627 and 1730, and the S. Malo Missal of 1609, on April 30. Albert le Grand gives May 1. The reason for the shifting has been because of the coincidence of the day with the Feast of SS. Philip and James, but mainly because it opens the month of May.

In some of the Welsh Calendars the Festival of S. Tyfriog, Abbot, is given as May 1.²

¹ Rees gives Tyfriog ab Dingad.

² The Demetian Calendar (S).

The Life of S. Brioc is by an anonymous author, who cannot have lived long after the time of Brioc, for he quotes as an authority Simaus, the monk who attended the funeral of the Saint. But it is evident that what we now have is not in its original form, but has been padded out with marvels at a later period.

Only three MS. copies remain. From these Dom Plaine printed the *Vita* in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, tome ii, pp. 161 *et seq.*

The approximate dates of Brioc's life were probably these.

- 440. Brioc born in Ceredigion.
- 450. Germanus the Armorican leaves Ireland to establish schools for the Irish missions, and is given Brioc to train.
- 454. Germanus [refounds Caerworgorn, and then]¹ departs with his pupils to Paris.
- 465. Germanus returns to Ireland, and is sent by S. Patrick to be Bishop of Man. At the same time Brioc receives Priest's Orders and returns home.
- 470. Brioc founds churches in Ceredigion, and for awhile assists his old master in the Western Isles.
- 474. Germanus dies.²
- 480. Troubles in Ceredigion through the invasion of the sons of Cunedda and the expulsion of the Irish.
- 520. Brioc compelled to leave. Goes to Cornwall, and eventually crosses to the Pagus Achensis in Brittany.
- 526. Brioc returns to Wales, and on coming back to his monastery in Brittany finds his nephew Tudwal in possession and unwilling to receive him back. He goes on to the land of Rouvre.
- 530. Visits the court of Childebert and has the grants made by Rhigual confirmed. Returns to Brittany and dies.

The body of S. Brioc was translated on July 23, 1166, in the presence of Henry II of England, and William, bishop of Angers, in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, in Angers, whither it had been taken in the tenth century, on account of the ravages of the Northmen in Brittany.

S. BROCHWEL YSGYTHROG, King, Confessor

BROCHFAEL or Brochwel Ysgythrog, the well-known king of Powys, was son of Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllwg by Tudglid, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog. He had three brothers, Cadell, Ieuaf, and

¹ The refounding of Caerworgorn depends on the questionable authority of the *Iolo MSS.*

² Ussher, *Britannicarum Eccl. Antiq.*, Dublin, 1639, ii, p. 1117. Ussher almost certainly quoted some Irish Annals now lost, perhaps those of Tighernach; the copy we now have is defective at this period.

Mawn, and one sister, Sannan, the wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd.¹ He was styled "Ysgythrog" probably because he had very prominent teeth. His name, written in Old Welsh Brochmail, and Brocmailus in the oldest MSS. of Bede,² occurs as Brohomagli on the sixth or seventh century inscribed stone at Voelas Hall. He married Arddun Benasgell, daughter of Pabo Post Prydyn, who had received lands from his father Cyngen, and by her he became the father of Tyssilio and Cynan Garwyn.

His title to sainthood rests on very doubtful authority, and we will therefore only briefly pursue his history. His name is included but once as a saint in the *Iolo MSS.* genealogies,³ where it is stated that "he was slain at the Battle of Bangor Orchard, when that Côr (Bangor on Dee) was destroyed by the pagan Saxons"; but the statement is inaccurate. The battle, otherwise known as the Battle of Chester, was fought in 607, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (and this is the date adopted by Freeman), but the Annals of Ulster give 613. At this battle Brochwel acted as escort to a large body of British priests and monks, mostly from Bangor on Dee, "standing apart in a place of comparative security," who had come to pray for the success of the Welsh against the English under Ethelfrid, or rather, according to Celtic usage, to curse the enemy. But, "woe to Brochwel's feeble hand," or rather to his having fled without striking a blow, only 50 out of 1,250 monks escaped.

But it should be remembered that Brochwel was by no means an uncommon Welsh name at that period, and, as Mr. Egerton Phillimore has pointed out,⁴ there is no proof whatever that the *Brocmailus* of Bede was Brochwel Ysgythrog—in fact, the statement is a pure assumption and as baseless as the other statement that the *Brochmail* whom the *Annales Cambriae* state to have died in 662 was that same prince.

Brochwel was succeeded by his son Cynan Garwyn, who is thought to have died in 650; but in the Life of S. Tyssilio there is another account. It says that Brochwel was followed by his son Jacobus, who lived but two years after the death of his father. There seems from this account to have been trouble at this time, and the widow of Jacobus thought of drawing Tyssilio from his monastery and marrying him. To this Tyssilio objected, and he ran away. It was then perhaps that Cynan Garwyn became king.

¹ *Cognatio de Brychan* in Cott. Vesp. A. xiv. Tudful is given as his mother in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 121.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, c. 2. The name seems to mean "badger-hero," and is probably totemistic.

³ P. 129.

⁴ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, pp. 281-4.

Pengwern, or Shrewsbury, was then the capital of the principality of Powys, and the palace is said to have occupied the spot whereon S. Chad's Church now stands. The copious fountain, a spring which long supplied the town of Shrewsbury with water, is known in records as Brochwel's Spring, and to the Welsh as Ffynnon Frochwel.

S. BROTHEN, Confessor

S. BROTHEN was one of the twelve sons of Helig ab Glannog, whose territory the sea overflowed. Deprived of their patrimony, he and his brothers devoted themselves to religion, and became saints, in the first instance, in Bangor-on-Dee. Most of them, after its destruction, migrated to the Bardsey Bangor.¹ He was the founder of Llanfrothen, in Merionethshire, where he "did searve God, and lyeth buried,"² but the church apparently received a later dedication to the B.V.M. (Festival of the Assumption).³ The Calendar in Llanstephan MS. 117 gives October 14th as his Festival. Rees⁴ gives the 15th, and Browne Willis⁵ the 18th.

There is a S. Brothan, the son of Seirioel ab Ussa ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig, mentioned once in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁶ but nothing is known of him.

S. BRYCHAN, King, Confessor

THIS great father of a saintly family is most difficult to treat of satisfactorily. He was not inaptly described by Skene as "the mysterious Brychan."⁷ The short Latin tract generally known as the *Cognatio de Brychan* is almost our sole authority for his legend. There are two versions of it. The older one occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Vespasian A. xiv, entitled "De situ Brecheniauc," and was written at or near Brecon in the early thirteenth century, but evidently copied from a MS. a century or two earlier. It has been printed by Rees in the *Cambro-British Saints*,⁸ "with the greatest inaccuracy";⁹

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 106, 124; *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 416, 418-9, 426, 429; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268.

² Sir John Wynn, *Ancient Survey of Pen Maen Mawr*, reprint 1906, p. 19.

³ *Cambrian Register*, iii, p. 226 (1818).

⁴ *Welsh Saints*, p. 302.

⁵ *Survey of Bangor*, 1721, p. 277.

⁶ P. 125.

⁷ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 43.

⁸ Pp. 272-275.

⁹ Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii, p. 106, further remarks that the original copyist clearly did not understand Welsh.

but a list of *Corrigenda* is given in *Y Cymmrodor*.¹ The other version also occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Domitian i (at the end), but differs widely from the previous one. This was written about 1650, but the copyist had before him a MS. of probably the thirteenth century, which he was not always able to read. It has been printed, with many inaccuracies, by Theophilus Jones in his *History of the County of Brecknock*.² Both versions have since been very carefully edited by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, and printed, with translations, in *Y Cymmrodor*.³

According to the legend, there was a King Tewdrig of Garthmadryn, who came to live at a place called Bran Coyn, near Llanfaes. This was supposed by Theophilus Jones to be a field called Bryn Gwyn, near Llanfaes, in the neighbourhood of Brecon. Tewdrig had a daughter named Marchell. He said to her: "The sharpness of the cold weather doth greatly affect thee; wherefore it is well to procure for thee a furgarment. I will send thee to Ireland, along with three hundred men, to Anlach, son of Coronac, king of that country, who will marry thee." Then Marchell departed with her retinue, and arrived at Lansemin on the first night, and there a hundred of the men died of the cold. There are to-day two places called Glansefin, on the brook Sefin, near Llangadog, in Carmarthenhire.

On the second night she reached Methrum, which is evidently Meidrim, in Carmarthenshire, and there a second hundred died. The third night was spent at Porthmawr, a warmer place, by S. David's Head.⁴ Thence she sailed, with the hundred men left, to Ireland, and arrived safely, along with her attendants, at the court of Anlach, who received her with dancing and joy, and made her his wife. Afterwards Marchell brought forth a son, who was named Brachan, later Brychan.⁵ "And Anlach returned with Queen Marchell and the boy Brychan," and several chiefs, to Wales. Brychan was born at Benni, the ancient Bannium, near Brecon, and was sent to be fostered by one Drichan. "And in his seventh year Drichan said to Brychan.

¹ Vol. xiii, pp. 93-95.

² Vol. i, pp. 342-3. The copyist, however, it would appear, was none other than Sir John Price, of Brecon (*d.* 1555).

³ Vol. xix, pp. 24-37.

⁴ Caerfarchell, near Solva, is supposed to take its name from her.

⁵ The name Brocagni (= Broccagni) occurred on a stone, now lost, except fragments, at Capel Mair, Llangeler, Carmarthenshire. The same form, Brocagni, occurs on an inscribed stone, of probably the seventh century, at Porthqueene, near Camelford, Cornwall. We have here the early form of Brychan, in Irish Broccán (Prof. Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, p. 393, *Arch. Camb.* 1907, pp. 293-300). Brychan, as a common noun, means in Welsh a coarse kind of home-made cloth, a tartan or plaid, and is a derivative from the adjective *brych* (Irish, *brec*), variegated or speckled.

'Bring my lance to me.' And Drichan in the latter part of his life became blind; and whilst he lay awake, a certain boar came from the wood and stood by the banks of the river Yscir; and there was a stag behind it in the river, and also a fish under the belly of the stag, which then portended that Brychan should be happy in abundance of wealth. Likewise there was a beech-tree standing on the side of the aforesaid river, in which bees made honey, and Drichan said to his pupil Brychan, 'Lo, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of gold and silver; and may the grace of God, and His love, abide with thee always, here and hereafter.' "

After that Anlach gave Brychan as hostage to the King of Powys; "and in process of time Brychan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel (the king), and she became pregnant, and brought forth a son named Cynog."¹

The *Cognatio* goes on to give the names of the wives and sons and daughters of Brychan, and adds that he was buried in Ynys Brychan, near Man (*Mannia*), apparently in Scotland ²

The grave of Anlach his father "is before the door of the Church of Llanspyddid," where there is also to be seen in the churchyard, on the south side of the church, a stone with crosses and circles, popularly called the "Cross of Brychan Brycheiniog."³ Llanspyddid is dedicated to S. Cadoc, grandson of Brychan. Possibly Anlach's name occurs in Llanhamlach, in the neighbourhood.

The first difficulty we have to surmount is the identification of Brychan's father.

In *Cognatio* Vesp. he is given as Anlac, Anlach, and Anlauch, the son of Coronac; in *Cognatio* Dom. as Anlach, the son of Gormac; and in Jesus College (Oxon.) MS. 20 (first half of the fifteenth century), as Chormuc, the son of Eurbre the Goidel. The later genealogists generally have fallen into two mistakes as regards Brychan's father's name. One is to give his grandfather's name as that of his father,⁴ and the other to treat his grandfather's name as a mere epithet of his father, meaning "crowned" or "tonsured."⁵ They describe him as "King of Ireland," and "King in Ireland."

¹ "Banhadlwedd, daughter of Banhadle of Banhadla in Powys," *Peniarth MS.* 127 (circa 1510), *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421.

² In *Cognatio* Dom. he is said to have been buried "in Mynav in valle que dicitur vall Brchan" (*sic*).

³ Figured in Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 70.

⁴ Korvmawc (*Peniarth MS.* 74), Korvniawc (*Peniarth MS.* 75), Korinwy (*Peniarth MS.* 137), all three of sixteenth century; Korinawg (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270). Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 248) identifies "Anlach, son of Coronac," with the well-known Dane, Anlaf Cuaran.

⁵ Anllech corvnawc (*Peniarth MS.* 127, circa 1510); Anllech Goronawc

Several theories have been proposed for the location of Anlach—

1. That Anlach stands for Hua Lagh, sons of Lugh, a Leinster family.

2. That Anlach is Caelbadh, who had a son Braccan, and was king of Ulster for one year, and was slain in 358.

3. That Anlach stands for Amalgaidh (now pronounced Awley).

Amalgaidh was son of Fiachra of the Flowing Locks, brother of Dathi, who succeeded Niall of the Nine Hostages as king of Ireland in 405, whereupon Dathi surrendered to Amalgaidh the crown of Connaught. He reigned till 449, and had at the least three wives, and twenty-one sons are attributed to him besides daughters.

4. That the "Chormuc, son of Eurbre the Goidel, of Ireland," whose son Brychan is said to have been, in the Jesus College MS., is Cormac Caoch, son of Cairbre, younger son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh by Carthan Casduff, daughter of the King of Britain.

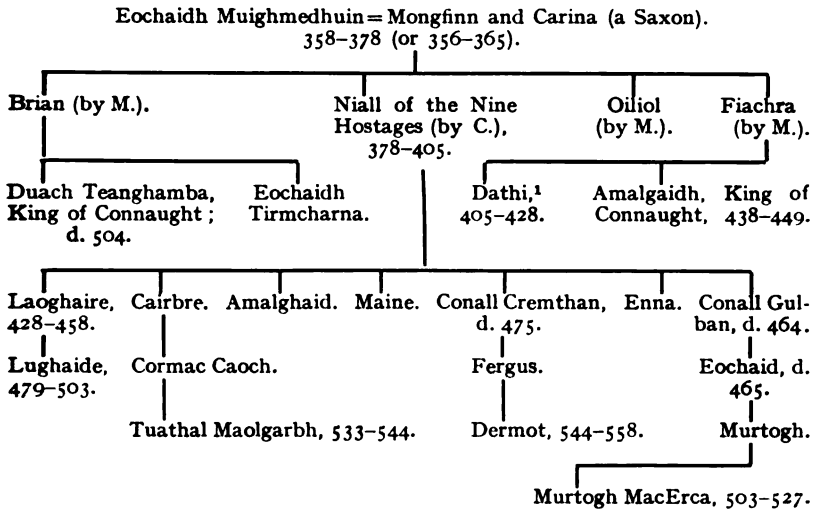
Cormac's wife, Marchell, was sole daughter of Tewdrig by an Irish-woman, a daughter of Eochaidh Muighmedhuin. This is the identification proposed by Mr. Henry F. J. Vaughan in *Y Cymmrodor*.¹

Shearman, in his *Loca Patriciana* (Geneal. Table VIII), gives a pedigree of Brychan from Caelbadh, king of Ulster. He makes Caelbadh father of Braccan, who is father of Braccanoc, the husband of Marchell, daughter of Tewdyr ap Tudwall; and Braccanoc and Marchell are parents of Brychan, who marries Dwyndwas or Dina, daughter of the King of Powys. As his authority he refers to the Naemsenchas, *Leabhar Breac*. The Bollandists, relying on Shearman, have adopted this pedigree. But the Naemsenchas in the *Leabhar Breac* gives no such pedigree, which seems to have been entirely drawn out of Mr. Shearman's imagination. Nor does Duall MacFirbiss, in his great work on genealogies, the *Leabhar Genealach*, give any countenance to this derivation of Brychan. It must be dismissed into the limbo of fantastic pedigrees.

The conjecture of Mr. Vaughan is unsupported by Irish authorities. The pedigree was as follows :—

(*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418); Aflech Goronawg (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 78); Enllech Goronawc (*ibid.*, p. 111); Afallach ap Corinwc (*Peniarth MS.* 132); Enllech ab Hydwn (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 109); Anlach, son of Urbf (*Vita S. Cadoci*).

¹ Vol. x, p. 86.



Duald MacFirbiss says, in his *Leabhar Genealach*,² "Cairbre, son of Niall, left ten sons:—Cormac *Caoch* (the blind). . . . This Cormac *Caoch* had two sons, viz. Ainmire and Tuathal *Maolgarbh*, king of Eire."

The first of the proposed identifications is the most satisfactory. Marchell crossed from Porthmawr to Leinster; and it is precisely in Leinster that several of the children of Brychan have left their names as founders.

That a migration should take place from Ulster or from Connaught to South Wales is improbable. The set from Ulster was to Alba, and in Connaught the Milesians obtained as much land as they required, by exterminating or expelling the native Tuatha De Danann.

The name of Brychan, or Braccan, is somewhat suspicious, signifying the "Speckled" or "Tartan-clothed"; and it looks much as though he to whom it was applied was an eponym for that clan of the Irish Goidels who certainly did invade and occupy Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Brecknock. We know that these invasions and colonisations were frequent, and that for a time Britain was subject to the Irish Goidels, and obliged to pay tax to them. It was after the reign of Dathi, who died in 428, that the Irish hold upon Britain came to an end, or was gradually relaxed.

Rees conjectured³ that Brychan's father was captain of one of these Irish invading bands, a supposition that is supported by a passage in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁴ wherein three invasions (*gormeson*) of Wales by the

¹ Dathi was father of Oilíol Molt, 459-478.

² P. 167.

³ *Welsh Saints*, p. 112.

⁴ P. 78.

Irish are mentioned, one of which "was that of Aflech Goronawg, who took possession of Garth Mathrin by invasion; but, having married Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig, king of that country, he won the good will of the inhabitants, and obtained it as his dominion in virtue of the marriage; and there his tribe still remains, intermixed with the Welsh."

Garthmadryn, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,¹ had at one time been part of the district called Morganwg, but was severed in Brychan's time. His grandfather, "Tewdrig the Blessed," is there described as being "King of Morganwg, Gwent, and Garthmadryn."²

Old Brycheiniog was commensurate with the present county of Brecknock, less the Hundred of Buallt or Builth.³ The name Garthmadryn gave way to one derived from its new regulus, who was called Brychan Brycheiniog, with which compare Rhufon Rhufoniog and other similar formations. In the *Book of Llan Dâu* the district is called *regio Brachani*, and the people *Brachanii*.⁴

The Goidel invasion came probably from one of the harbours of Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire, and the Irish made their way up the valley of the Towy. Perhaps to them may be attributed the stone camp at Garn Goch, on an isolated rock commanding the river. Beneath it lies Llys Brychan. Then, pushing up to Llandovery, where the old Roman town of Loventium lay in ruins, they struck the Roman paved road, the Via Julia, that led over the pass of Mynydd Myddfai, above the River Gwydderig, to the Roman camp of the Pigwn; and so tramping on upon the road straight as a bow-line, looked down on the broad, richly-wooded basin of the Usk. Crossing the little stream Nant Bran, they halted in the walled city of Bannium, with its stone gateways still standing, among the ruins of Roman villas and baths, and made that their headquarters. Here it was that Brychan was born; and a little further down the Usk, at Llanspyddid, before the doorway of the church, Anlach was buried.

These Irish invaders had entered on a fair land, well watered, the rocks of old red sandstone, crumbling down into the richest soil conceivable; and here they were well content to settle, and to bring into

¹ P. 111. ² P. 118; cf. pp. 140, 147. These statements cannot be accepted.

³ In the beginning of the ninth century, Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion (in modern Radnorshire) formed a kingdom by themselves (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, p. 203).

⁴ Pp. 219, 256. In a *Bonedd y Saint* (which contains a list of his children) in the late eighteenth-century MS. known as *Y Piser Hir*, pp. 294-296, in the Swansea Public Library, Brychan, we are told, was "Lord of Brecknock, Earl of Chester, and Baron of Stafford!"

subjection the natives, who probably offered little resistance. To the South shot up the purple Brecknock Beacons ; away to the East the range of the Black Mountains, abruptly dying down, and forming a mighty portal through which, many centuries later, the Normans would pour and make Brecon their own.

To the North were only wooded hills, stretching away to the Epynt range : a fair enclosed land, some twelve miles across, a happy valley as that of Rasselas, to all appearance, but one to be battled for from generation to generation : so rich, so lovely, that it was coveted by all who looked upon it.

That Anlach was a Christian we must suppose, but of a rude quality. His wife was one, certainly, and his son Brychan was brought up in the Christian faith.

Within the walls of Bannium, now Y Gaer, on a hot summer, the grass burns up over the foundations of a villa, and reveals the plan, with atrium and semi-circular tablinum opening out of it, and chambers to which access was obtained from the atrium. It was the most notable building in Bannium—perhaps in the fifth century not wholly ruinous. And in it Anlach may well have dwelt ; and in one of those chambers now under the sod, Brychan, who was to give his name to all that country, may well also have been born.

Of the life of Brychan we know nothing, save only what has been already related : how he was instructed by the Christian sage Drichan, and how he was sent hostage to the King of Powys.

The following represent the principal printed Welsh lists of Brychan's children. There are, needless to say, more still in various MSS.

1. The *Cognatio* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv (early thirteenth century) : eleven sons and twenty-five daughters.
2. The *Cognatio* of Cott. Dom. i (circa 1650) : thirteen sons and twenty-four daughters.
3. Jesus College, Oxford, MS. 20, known as *Llyfr Llywelyn Offeiriad* (first half of the fifteenth century) : eleven sons and twenty-four daughters.
4. The *Achau* compiled by Lewis Dwnn, a Welsh herald, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, printed in the *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 14, 1846, edited by Sir S. R. Meyrick : fourteen sons and twenty-two daughters.
5. *Myvyrian Archaeology*, p. 419, from an Anglesey MS. written in 1579 : twenty-three sons and twenty-five daughters.
6. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 111, from a Coychurch MS., compiled or transcribed by Thomas ab Ifan, circa 1670 : twenty-four sons and twenty-six daughters.
7. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 119-121, from another Coychurch MS., by the same : twenty-five sons and twenty-six daughters.
8. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, from a Cardiff MS. : twenty-five sons and twenty-eight daughters.
9. *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 270-1, from Harleian MS. 4181, early eighteenth century : two sons and twenty daughters.

To these must be added :—

10. The list given by Nicolas Roscarrock, the friend of Camden, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, now in the University Library, Cambridge. He was assisted by Edward Powell, a Welsh priest, who had in his possession a number of Welsh pedigrees and calendars. Thirty-two sons and thirty-one daughters—sixty-three in all—the most liberal allowance given him, we believe, in any list extant.
11. The list in the tract on "the Mothers of the Saints" in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee : twelve sons in all.
12. The list given by William of Worcester : twenty-four children.
13. The list given by Leland : also twenty-four children.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who speaks of Brychan as "a powerful and noble personage," says that "the British histories testified that he had four-and-twenty daughters, all of whom, dedicated from their youth to religious observances, happily ended their lives in sanctity."¹ No doubt Fuller had this passage before him when he wrote, in his *Worthies*, of Brychan :—

"This King had four-and-twenty daughters, a jolly number ; and all of them saints, a greater happiness."² He had, of course, no other conception of saintship than that of the Latin Church.

Caw, the founder of one of the Three Saintly Tribes, is also credited with having been the father of a numerous family—twenty-six sons and five daughters ; but some of his sons followed a warlike life. Clechre or Clethre, mentioned in the Life of S. Brynach, had 20 sons. But Welsh law, even down to the 13th century, made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock.

The following is an alphabetical list of Brychan's children, as given in the *Cognatio* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv, by much our earliest authority, with identifications from the later lists :—

Sons :—

1. Arthen.
2. Berwin (Berwyn, Gerwyn).
3. Clytguin (Cledwyn).
4. Chybliuer (Cyflefyr or Cyflewyr) ; son of Dingad in the Jesus MS.
5. Kynauc (Cynog).
6. Kynon (Cynon) ; son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
7. Dynigat (Dingad).
8. Papay (Pabiali).
9. Paschen (Pasgen) ; son of Dingad in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS.
10. Rein (Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd).
11. Rydoch or Iudoc (Cadog).

Married Daughters :—

1. Aranwen (Arianwen), wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, king of Powys.
2. Kehingayr (Rhiengar), mother of S. Cynidr.

¹ *Itin. Kamb.*, bk. i, ch. ii.

² Vol. iii, p. 514, ed. 1840.

3. Gladis (Gwladus), wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of S. Catwg or Cadoc.
4. Guaur (Gwaur), wife of Elidr Lydanwyn, and mother of Llywarch Hen.
5. Gurycon Godheu (Gwrgon), wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
6. Hunyd (Nefydd), wife of Tudwal Befr.
7. Luan (Lleian), wife of Gafran, and mother of Aidan or Aeddan Fradog.
8. Marchel (Mechell), wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch of Meirionydd.
9. Meleri (Eleri), wife of Ceredig, and grandmother of S. David.
10. Nyuein (Nefyn), wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
11. Tutglid (in quite the later lists Tudful and Tangwystl are confounded with her), wife of Cyngen, and mother of Brochwel Ysgythrog.

Daughters not mentioned as married :—

12. Belyau (possibly Felis of the Jesus MS., and Tydieu of the other lists).
13. Bethan (unidentified).
14. Kein (Ceinwen).
15. Keneython (Cynheiddon).
16. Kerdych (Ceindrych).
17. Clydei (Clydai).
18. Duyn (Dwynwen).
19. Eiliueth (Eluned).
20. Goleu (Goleuddydd).
21. Guen (Gwen).
22. Ilud (the Llad of the Jesus MS.).
23. Tibyei (Tybie).
24. Tudeuel (Tudfil).
25. Tudhistil (Tangwystl, otherwise called Tanglwst).

We now give them as they occur in the various later lists :—

Sons :—

1. Arthen. Attlien in the Jesus MS.
2. Cadog. He is the Rydoch or Iudoc in *Cogn. Vesp.*; Ridoc in *Cogn. Dom.*; Reidoc in the Jesus MS.; Radoc in the *Achau* (No. 4).
3. Cai.
4. Cledwyn or Clydwyn.
5. Clydog or Cledog. The son of Clydwyn according to the *Cognatio*.
6. Cyflefyr or Cyflewyr.
7. Cynbryd.
8. Cynfran.
9. Cynin. No doubt Cunin Cof, the son of Brychan's daughter Hunyd (Nefydd), by Tudwal Befr.
10. Cynog. By Banadlined, daughter of a King of Powys.
11. Cynon, in the Jesus MS. *Cogn. Vesp.* has "Kynon qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predicte Mannie"; *Cogn. Dom.*, "Run ipse sanctus ycallat (*sic* in Manan"; the Jesus MS., "Runan yssyd yny (lle) a elwir Manaw."
12. Dingad.
13. Dogfan, Dogwan, or Doewan.
14. Dyfnan. Probably the Dustnon of *Achau*.
15. Dyfrig. By Eurbrawst (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119). He must not be taken for the well-known Dubricius or Dyfrig, who as we know from his *Vita* was the son of Efrddyl, daughter of Pepiau, king of Erging, but his father's name is not mentioned.
16. Gerwyn or Berwyn.
17. Hychan.
18. Llecheu.

19. Mathaiarn. Marthæarun in *Cogn. Dom.*; Marcharairjun or Marcharanhun in the Jesus MS.; and Matheyrn in *Achau*.
20. Nefydd.
21. Neffei. Possibly the Dedyu or Dettu given in the *Cognatio* as son of Clydwyn. In *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119, he is said to have been a son by Proistri, his Spanish wife.
22. Pabiali. Papai in the Jesus MS. Son by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
23. Pasgen. Son probably by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
24. Rhaint or Rhain.
25. Rhawin.
26. Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd. Drem Dremrud in the Jesus MS.; Rhevn in *Achau*. Succeeded his father as king, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
27. Syredigon. In *Achau* only.
28. a Valath (*sic*). In *Achau* only.

Daughters :—

1. Anna. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, only.
2. Arianwen. The Wrggen of the Jesus MS. is a misscript for this saint's name.
3. Bechan. *Cogn. Dom.*; the Bethan of *Cogn. Vesp.*; in none of the other lists.
4. Ceindrych. Kerdech in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS.
5. Ceinwen.
6. Cenedlon.
7. Clydai.
8. Cymorth or Corth.
9. Cyneiddon. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Koneidon, and the Jesus MS. as Ryneidon.
10. Dwynwen.
11. Eiliwedd, Eluned, or Elyned. As Eliweet in *Achau*. The Almedha of Giraldus Cambrensis, but a misreading.
12. Eleri (properly Meleri, unrubricated). Meleri in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS.; Elen in *Achau*. Daughter by Eurbrawst (*Lewis Dwnn*, ii, p. 64).
13. Enfail. Of Merthyr Enfail. Her name has probably been evolved out of the Merthir Euineil of *Cogn. Vesp.*, a misscript for Tutuul, *i.e.*, the Tudful of Merthyr Tydfil.
14. Goleu. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Gloyv, and *Achau* as Gole. The same as Goleuddydd.
15. Goleuddydd.
16. Gwawr.
17. Gwawrddydd.
18. Gwen.
19. Gwenan.
20. Gwenddydd.
21. Gwenfrewi. Only in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, and *Achau*.
22. Gwenlliw.
23. Gwladus.
24. Gwrgon. Grucon Guedu in *Cogn. Dom.*, and Grugon in the Jesus MS.
25. Hawystl.
26. Lleian.
27. Lludd. In the Jesus MS. only.
28. Mechell. As Marchell in *Cogn. Dom.*, the Jesus MS., and *Achau*.
29. Mwynen.
30. Nefydd. In *Myr. Arch.*, p. 419; Hunyd in *Cogn. Vesp.*; Nunidis in *Cogn. Dom.*; Goleuddydd in the Jesus MS.
31. Nefyn. The Nyuen of *Cogn. Dom.*

32. Rhiengar or Rhiengan. Keyngair in *Cogn. Dom.*, Kingar in the Jesus MS., and Kyngar in *Achau*.
33. Tanglwst or Tangwystl. Taghwystyl in the Jesus MS.; probably the Tutbistyl of *Cogn. Dom.*
34. Tudfyl. The Tuglit of *Cogn. Dom.*, and Gutuyl of the Jesus MS.
35. Tudwen.
36. Tybieu or Tybie.
37. Tydieu or Tydeu.

Nicholas Roscarrock, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, on the authority of MSS. possessed by Edward Powell, priest, gives another list as follows :—

Sons :—

1. Cenawcus, Martyr. The Cynog of the *Cognatio*.
2. Cladwin, and (3) Cledwin, " whose conquered South Wales, and had a great saint to his son, named Clydocus." He duplicates Cledwyn, the Clytguin of *Cogn. Vesp.*
4. Cifliver. The Chybluer or Cyflewyr of the other lists.
5. Berwin. This is Berwyn or Gerwyn, the son of Brynach Wyddel and grandson of Brychan.
6. Maethiarn. Occurs in *Cogn. Dom.* A saint of Cardiganshire.
7. Cinan. The Cynon of *Cogn. Vesp.*, and son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
8. Kembrit. The Cynbryd of the later lists. A martyr at Bwlch Cynbryd, Llanddulas.
9. Cimfram. In the later lists Cynfran, founder of Llysfaen, Denbighshire.
10. Hichan. In the later lists. The saint of Llanychan in the Vale of Clwyd.
11. Diffrig. In the later lists.
12. Cain, a Martyr. This is the Cai of the *Iolo MSS.* pedigrees.
13. Allecheu. The Llecheu of the later lists. Of Llanllecheu in Ewyas.
14. Dingad. *Cogn. Vesp.* He was father of Pasgen according to *Cogn. Dom.*
15. Cadocus, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
16. Rawn or Rohun. The Rein of *Cogn. Vesp.*, otherwise called Rhun Drem-rudd. Succeeded his father as king. See also 25.
17. Arthen. *Cogn. Vesp.* Father of Cynon.
18. Difnan. In the later lists. Founder of Llanddyfnan in Anglesey.
19. Anewi. Possibly Neffei.
20. Paball. In *Cogn. Vesp.* and *Dom. Papay*; in the later lists Pabiali.
21. Ridorch, and (22) Rodorch, the same duplicated, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
23. Caradocus. This is Caradog Freichfras, great-grandson of Brychan, by his granddaughter Gwen of Talgarth.
24. Helim, the Helye or Helic of Leland and William of Worcester.
25. Run. The same as Rawn, No. 16.
26. Japan. Not recorded elsewhere.
27. Doguan. The Dogfan of the later lists. A martyr at Merthyr Dogfan, in Pembrokeshire; founder of Llanrhaiaadr ym Mochnant.
28. Auallach. A mistake of Roscarrock, who has inserted the father of Brychan among his sons.
29. Lhoiau. Possibly the Llecheu of the later lists.
30. Paschen. Paschen in *Cogn. Vesp.* Son of Dingad, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
31. Idia. Not found elsewhere.
32. Io. The Iona or Ioannes of Leland and William of Worcester.

Daughters :—

1. Gladus, *i.e.* Gwladys, in all lists. Wife of Gwynllyw and mother of Catwg.
2. Gwawr. In all lists. Wife of Elidr Lydanwyn and mother of Llywarch Hen.
3. Eleri. The Meleri of *Cogn.*, but Eleri in later lists ; wife of Ceredig.
4. Arianwen. In all lists.
5. Triduael. The Tudeuel of *Cogn. Vesp.* Martyr at Merthyr Tydfil.
6. Winifred, "called in some coppies Gurgon." The Gwenfrewi of one list of Brychan's daughters, in which Gwrgon also occurs (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 140).
7. Cindreth, "of some Mechel," *i.e.* Marchell or Mechell, wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch (*Cogn. Vesp.*). Her name, however, matches Ceindrych of the later lists.
8. Newin, *i.e.* Nyuein or Nefyn, wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
9. Neuidh, the Hunyd or Nunidis of *Cogn.*, wife of Tudwal Befr, and mother of Cynin.
10. Gleian, *i.e.* Luan or Lleian, wife of Gafran, and mother of Aeddan Fradog.
11. Macella. See 7.
12. Roscarrock omits this name ; was probably unable to read it.
13. Gweadhydh, "in some coppies Gwawardhydh, the mother of Kenedir." The Gwenddydd of the later list. The mother of Cyndir was Ceingair (Rhiengar).
14. Goliudhed. The Goleu or Goleuddydd of the other lists.
15. Meld.ada, "mother of Cifinn," not identified.
16. Keingir, "mother of St. Kenedar." The Ceingair (Rhiengar) of the other lists.
17. Gwen, "mother of Sannan, the wife of Malgo Venedoticus." Gwen of Talgarth was granddaughter of Brychan, and wife of Llyr Merini. *Cogn. Vesp.* gives Sanan as daughter of Tudglid, wife of Cyngen.
18. Cenelin. The Cyneiddon or Cenedlon of the lists.
19. Clodfaith, probably Clydai. Clotfaith occurs once in the Welsh lists (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 426), where she is confused with Gwen of Talgarth.
20. Hawistle, and (30) Hudwistle, reduplications of Hawystl or Tangwystl and Tutbistyl (*Cogn. Dom.*).
21. Towen. A blunder for Gwen.
22. Tibies, *i.e.* Tybieu. Martyr at Llandebie.
23. Enuael. The Enfail of the later lists. Probably a mistake for Tudful (Tydfil).
24. Elinedh, "whom Giraldus calleth Almedha."
25. Elida, the Ilud of *Cogn. Vesp.* and Llud of the Jesus MS. She is called Juliana by Leland and William of Worcester.
26. Tideu. The Tydeu or Tydieu of the later lists.
27. Diganwen, and (28) Dwinwen, "July 13," are Dwynwen. January 25th is Festival of S. Dwynwen ; July 13th, of S. Dogfan or Doewan.
29. Conoin, no other than Ceinwen, or Cain, the celebrated S. Keyne.
30. See 20.
31. Malken. Probably Mechell or Marchell.

There is a Life of S. Ninnocha, or Gwengastle, a saint of Brittany, contained in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, that states she was a daughter of Brychan, and that her mother's name was Meneduc :—

Quidam vir nobilis fuit in Combronensia regione, Brochan nomine, ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in totam Britanniam . . . Ipse Brochanus accepit uxorem ex genere Scottorum, filiam Constantini regis, ex stirpe Juliani Caesaris, Meneduc nomine.

The Life was written in 1130, and is of little value. It teems with blunders. The *regio Combronensia* is probably Cambria, and not Cumbria or Cumberland, as Mr. Egerton Phillimore supposes.¹ The Gurthiern to whom Brochan is akin is described in the Life of that saint, in the same *Cartulary*, as son of Bonus, son of Glou (Glywys), and traced back to Outham (Eudaf?), son of Maximus (Macsen Wledig).

The wife from the Scots, or Irish, is a daughter of Constantine. The writer of the Life lived in the twelfth century, when it was forgotten that Scot signified Irish: and, as he knew that there had been a Constantine of Scotland, he made Brychan marry a daughter of the King of Alba of that name. In the Life, S. Patrick sends Germanus to the court of Brochan, but he is also visited by S. Columcille from Hy. The Germanus who did go to Wales died Bishop of Man in 474 (not he of Auxerre, who died 448), and S. Columcille in 598. Brychan can hardly have lived later than 500; consequently, we have here a pretty confusion. Brychan's wife Meneduc, and his daughter Gwengastle, or Ninnocha, are unknown to the Welsh.

These various lists by no means exhaust the number of children attributed to Brychan by the Welsh; e.g. in the Demetian Calendar² four more are mentioned: two sons, Gwynan and Gwynws; and two daughters, Callwen and Gwenfyl.³

Brychan is said to have had three wives. In *Cogn. Vesp.* their names are given as Prawst,⁴ Rhibrawst, and Proistri; and in *Cogn. Dom.* as Eurbrawst, Rhybrawst, and Proestri. The last-named is elsewhere given as Peresgri and Prosori.⁵ It is stated in the *Iolo MSS.*⁶ that Rhybrawst, his first wife, was his cousin, being the daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig. Eurbrawst was "a daughter of a prince of Cornwall" by "an emperor of Rome."⁷ Proistri, his third wife, was a Spaniard.⁸

According to Welsh hagiology, Brychan's family forms one of the Three Saintly Tribes of Britain, the other two being those of Cunedda

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 100.

² Denoted S.

³ Among other names and forms occurring in *Peniarth MSS.* 74, 75, and 178, are the following: Sons—Avallach, Kaian, Kain, Heilin, Lloyan, Llonio, Pabal, Rydderch; Daughters—Keindec, Clodfaith, Goleuvedd, Gwennlian, Tudwystl. In the Calendars in *Peniarth MSS.* 187 and 219 and *Llyfr Pilygain* of 1618, against November 1, we have another daughter, Gwenrhiw.

⁴ Another Prawst was wife of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda. Another compound, Onbrawst, occurs.

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁶ P. 147; on p. 119 she is said to have been Eurbrawst.

⁷ *Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations*, ii, p. 64.

⁸ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

and Caw. The most powerful and influential of the three was Cunedda's, and Brychan's next. His was the most Goidelic. One of the *Triads* credits him with having "given his children and grandchildren a liberal education, so that they might be able to show the Faith in Christ to the Nation of the Welsh, wherever they were without the Faith."¹ This *Triad* has been adduced to show how the names of some of the grandchildren have crept into the lists. "The sons of Brychan were Saints in the Côrau of Garmon and Illtyd; and they afterwards formed a Côr with Bishop Dyfrig in the Wig on the Wye,"² that is, Hentland, in Herefordshire, the foundation of which is ascribed to Brychan.³ Brynach the Goidel, who married his daughter Cymorth, or Corth, is said to have come over with him to this Island, and to have been his confessor (*periglawr*).⁴

Welsh tradition does not strictly confine Brychan's children to Wales. We are told that Neffeï, Pabiali, and Pasgen, his sons by his Spanish wife, went to Spain. Cadog was buried in France, and Dyfnan in Ireland. Berwyn, or Gerwyn, founded a church in Cornwall. Nefydd was a bishop in the North; and Cynon went to Manaw.

Mr. Copeland Borlase is too sweeping when he says that the children of Brychan were merely natives of the country over which Brychan once ruled, and that they might be regarded in much the same way as when we speak of the Children of Israel;⁵ and we believe the *Cognatio de Brychan* to be too early and trustworthy a document to enable us to quite dismiss the whole family as a "mythical progeny."⁶ Drayton, whilst not denying the existence of twenty-four daughters to Brychan, says that they all underwent metamorphosis by becoming so many rivers. He is very probably incorporating some tradition, now lost. He says:—

For Breacan was a Prince once fortunate and great
(Who, dying, lent his name to that his nobler seat)
With twice twelve daughters blest, by one and only wife:
Who for their beauties rare, and sanctitie of life,
To Riwers were transform'd; whose pureness doth declare
How excellent they were, by beeing what they are:
Who dying virgins all, and Riwers now by Fate,
To tell their former loue to the vnmarried state,
To Seuerne shape their course, which now their forme doth beare;
Ere shee was made a flood, a virgine as they were,
And from the Irish seas with feare they still doe flie:
So much they yet delight in mayden companie.⁷

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 402.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 140.

⁵ *Age of the Saints*, p. 147.

⁶ Prof. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, p. 27.

⁷ *Polyolbion*, Second Part, p. 57. ed. 1622.

It cannot be believed that the reputed children of Brychan were all really his. Welsh hagiology, as in the case of Cunedda and Caw, designates them his *gwelygordd*, a term which, in the Welsh Laws, means a tribe derived from one common ancestor; and in the Welsh Tribal System, the *gwely* was the family-group, embracing sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. Some of those reputed to be sons of Brychan are known to have been grandchildren; and allowance must also be made for duplications, of which there are clearly some, as also for blunders on the part of copyists. This will considerably reduce the number of his progeny, as they appear in, especially, the later lists.

In any enumeration, however, of the children of Brychan, it must be borne in mind that there were several persons of the name known to Celtic hagiology. A King Brychan, with many children, who all, or nearly all, became saints, figures in Cornish, Breton, and Irish, as well as Welsh, hagiology. Mr. Egerton Phillimore has endeavoured to show¹ that the best authenticated children in the Welsh lists are pretty clearly the children of at least two distinct Brychans: one belonging to Breconshire, the other to what is now Southern Scotland. The Breton Brychan he traces to Scotland,² and thinks that he admits of being plausibly identified with one of the Brychans who together made up the composite Brychan of Welsh hagiology. The names of most of his children are not preserved; but Mr. Phillimore assigns to him the children who are in the *Cognatio* said to be connected with Cumbria or its neighbourhood. These are (1) his sons Cynon, Rhun, and Arthen, and his daughter Bethan, or Bechan, all said to be commemorated or buried in Mannia or Manaw (no doubt Manaw Gododin, stretching all along both sides of the Forth below Stirling); and (2) his four daughters who are said to have married Northern princes, viz. Gwrygon, Gwawr, Nyfain, and Lluan. The statement respecting Brychan's burial, he thinks, must needs also refer to a Northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan. To this it might be added that there is some evidence of a Brycheiniog also in, apparently, Southern Scotland.³

The tract on the "Mothers of the Saints" in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee, but actually by MacFirbiss, says of Cynog, whom it calls Canoc: "Dina was his mother, daughter of a

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, pp. 100, 101, 125. The Brychan ab Gwyngon mentioned in the note in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 606, is a misreading for Bricon, son of Guincon (*Book of Llan Dâw*, p. 203).

² The only authority for this is the *Vita Stæ. Ninnocha*; but it does not state this, and is a most unreliable document. See what has already been said thereon.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 150.

Saxon king. She was the mother of ten sons by Bracan, king of Britain, son of Bracha Meoc: to wit, S. Mogoróc of Struthuir; S. Mochonóc the Pilgrim of Cill-Mucraisse and of Gelinnia, in the region of Delbhna Eathra; Dirad of Edardruim; Duban of Rinn-dubhain alithir; Carennia of Cill-Chairinne; Cairpre the Pilgrim of Cill-Cairpre, Isiol Farannan; Iust in Slemnach Albania; Elloc of Cill-Moelloc juxta Loch Garman; Pianus of Cill-Phian in Ossory; Coeman the Pilgrim in Cill-Coemain in regione Gesille and elsewhere. And she was also the mother of Mobeoc of Gleann Geirf; for he also was the son of Brachan, son of Bracha Meoc." ¹

We will now give the list of the sons and daughters of Brychan who were reputed to have settled in East Cornwall.

William of Worcester, in 1478, visited Cornwall, and extracted the following from the Acts of S. Nectan, in a MS. he saw on S. Michael's Mount. It has been printed by Nasmith, but not correctly. We have been able to collate it with the original MS. preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and we give the revised extract:— ²

Brokanus in partibus Walliarum regulus, fide et morum &c. per Gladewysam uxorem ejus genuit 24 filios et filias, et hiis nominibus vocabantur: (1) Nectanus, (2) Johannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menefrede, (5) Delyan, (6) Tetha, (7) Maben, (8) Wentu, (9) Wensent, (10) Marwenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wynip, (16) Wenheder, (17) Cleder, (18) Kery, (19) Jona, (20) Helye, (21) Canauc, (22) Kenheuder, (23) Adwen, (24) Tanclanc. Omnes isti filii et filiae postea fuerunt Sancti et Martires vel Confessores, et in Devoniam, vel Cornubiam, heremiticam vitam ducentes; sicut enim inter omnes quorum vitæ meritis et virtutum miraculis Cornubiensis Devonienensis irradiatur ecclesia, beatus Nectanus primo genitus fuit, ita cæteris omnibus honestate vitæ major fuit, et prodigiorum choruscitate excellentior extitit.

Fuit in ultimis Walliarum partibus vir dignitate regulus, fide et morum honestate præclarus, nomine Brokannus, a quo provincia ipsa nomen sortita nuncupatur Brokannok usque in præsentem diem; hic itaque Brokannus, antequam ex uxore suâ Gladewysâ filium vel filiam genuisset, in Hiberniam profectus est, uxorem suam et omnia sua relinquens; timuerat enim ne si cum uxore suâ remaneret, generationem ex eâ procrearet, quâ impediretur ne libere Domino servire potuisset. Mansit igitur in Hiberniâ 24 annis, bonis operibus intendens; postea autem visitare patriam suam volens, rediit in Walliam, ubi uxorem

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, i. p. 311. Of these the *Martyrology of Donegal* gives "Dubhan, son of Brachan, King of Britain, by Din, daughter of the King of Saxon-land," and "Moghorog, son of Brachan, king of Britain, son of Brachaineoc by Dina, who was also mother of nine other saints." Shearman got his Brachaineoc from this. But the martyrologist misunderstood the title Brychan Brycheiniog for Brychan, son of Brycheiniog, instead of Prince of that territory.

² William of Worcester wrote a most atrocious hand, and scribbled in his note-book as he saw anything that struck him. He probably intended to have made a fair copy, but never did this. Nicolas Roscarrock had a transcript sent him from the MS. of such portions as concerned the Cornish Saints, and we are able to check off our reading of the names by the reading sent to him.

suam adhuc viventem invenit. Post aliquantulum autem temporis sicut Deus preordinaverat, licet ipse homo non proposuisset, uxorem suam cognovit, ex quâ postea 24 filios et filias genuit. Videns Dei virtutem cui nemo resistere potest, ait, "Jam Deus in me vindicavit quod contra dispositionem voluntatis ejus venire frustra disposui; quia enim 24 annis ab uxore meâ ne sobolem procrearem illicite effugi, dedit mihi pro quolibet anno illicitæ continentiae sobolem unam quia jam 24 filios et filias post 24 annos ab eâdem uxore suscepi." Prædicti autem 24 filii et filiæ, quos prædictus Brokanus ex uxore sua Gladewysa genuit his nominibus vocabantur, Nectanus et cætera.

Gwladys was not the name of any wife ascribed to Brychan in the Welsh accounts, but she was his daughter, and one of his most eminent. She became the wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of St. Catwg. The account given by William of Worcester supplies an omission in the Welsh *Cognatio*. It shows us that Brychan did visit Ireland, though probably for a very different reason from that assigned by the monkish writer. He went either to assert his rights in Ireland, or to collect more Irishmen to surround him, and to extend his kingdom in Wales.

Leland, in his *Collectanea* (iv, p. 153), gives a list of the children of Brychan from a legend of S. Nectan, which he found at Hartland. His list is this: (1) Nectan, (2) Joannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menfre, (5) Dilic, (6) Tedda, (7) Maben, (8) Weneu, (9) Wensent, (10) Merewenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wymp, (16) Wenheder, (17) Cleder, (18) Keri, (19) Jona, (20) Kanauc, (21) Kerhender (Kenheuder), (22) Adwen, (23) Helic, (24) Tam lanc.

We will now concern ourselves only with those children or grandchildren of Brychan who are named in the lists of William of Worcester and Leland, both of which we have quoted.

We will take the latter list as our basis:—

1. Nectan is the Saint of Hartland. He is not included in the Welsh lists.
2. Joannes and (19) Jona are clearly the same. This is the Ive of S. Ive; his settlement there is in connection with those of his cousins, S. Cleer, substituted for Clether, and S. Keyne.
3. Endelient. This is misprinted or miswritten by Nasmith in his William of Worcester list as Sudbrent. She is Cenedlon in the Welsh lists. Her foundation is St. Endelion.
4. Menfre or Menefrida, the foundress of S. Minver, may be Mwynen, the daughter of Brynach the Goidel, and Cymorth or Corth, the daughter of Brychan.
5. Dilic is given by William of Worcester as Delyan, and is possibly the same as (3) Endelion.
6. Tedda in William of Worcester. Tetha is S. Teath, pronounced Teth. She is actually S. Itha, but may be Tydieu.
7. Maben is S. Mabenna of S. Maby, also unknown to the Welsh.
8. Weneu or Wentu is the same as (11) Wenna. This is Gwen. Gwen of Talgarth was a daughter or granddaughter of Brychan, who married Llyr Merini, and was the mother of Caradog Freichfras, who certainly was in Cornwall, in the Callington district.

9. Wensent cannot now be traced ; probably same as (8) and (11) ; Wensant, or S. Wenn.
10. Merewenna and (14) Morwenna are doubtless the same, patroness of Marhamchurch and of Morwenstow. Not known to the Welsh.
11. (See 8 and 9.)
12. Juliana is the Juliot of North Cornwall ; her name probably occurs as Ilud in the *Cognatio*.
13. Yse, clearly the patron of S. Issey. This is no doubt a mistake of the legend writer. The Episcopal Registers gave S. Itha as patroness of S. Issey, and she was an Irish saint. Her cult may have been introduced by the Brychan family.
14. (See 10.)
15. Wymp is S. Wenappa, the Gwenabwy or Gwenafwy of the Welsh lists a daughter of Caw. Patroness of Gwennap (see 16).
16. Wenheder is the same as Wenappa (see 15).
17. Cleder is possibly Clydog, who was grandson of Brychan and son of Clydwyn. He is S. Clether in Cornwall, probably also S. Cleer.
18. Keri is clearly intended for Curig, patron of Egloskerry. His ancestry is unknown, but as he settled in the Brecon colony he was reckoned as a son of Brychan.
19. (See 2.)
20. Kanauc. By this Leland means Cynog. He was Brychan's illegitimate son by the daughter of the Prince of Powys. He was killed at Merthyr Cynog, in Brecknockshire. Probably patron of S. Pinnock.
21. Kerheuder in William of Worcester is Nasmith's misreading for Kenheuder, *i.e.*, Cynidr, S. Enoder, who was the son of one of Brychan's daughters.
22. Adwen or S. Athewenna is probably Dwyn or Dwynwen, a virgin, daughter of Brychan.
23. Helic or Helye. The patron of Egloshayle is intended.
24. Tamlanc is given by William of Worcester as Tanclanc. The patroness of Talland is S. Elen. This may be the Elined or Almedha of the Welsh lists, and the MSS. may have had "Elena cujus ecclesia in Tamlanc," and both transcribers may have committed the same careless blunder of taking the name of the place for that of the patron. Talland = (Sain)t Elined, as Awdry became Tawdry.

We have accordingly been able to account for about seventeen persons out of the twenty-four names.

Nicolas Roscarrock gives April 6 as the day of S. Brychan. The saint is represented in fifteenth century glass, with a lap full of children, at S. Neot, Cornwall.

In the *Iolo MSS*¹ he is said to have founded the church of Gwenfo or Wenvoe, now dedicated to S. Mary, in Glamorganshire.

There is a place called Llys Brychan (his Court), near the site of the ruined church of Llangunnoch, or Llangynog, near Llansoy, Monmouthshire, and also another under Garn Goch, in Carmarthenshire, as already mentioned.

Dafydd ab Gwilym, the contemporary of Chaucer, in his well-known

¹ P. 221.

poem addressed to S. Dwynwen, implores her to grant him his request "for the sake of the soul of Brychan Yrth with the mighty arms."¹

We fear that we have been able to throw but little light on a peculiarly obscure topic, but it may be of some avail to have collected together all that is recorded relative to this most shadowy but prolific father of a saintly family.

S. BRYNACH, Abbot, Confessor

THE authorities for the life of this Saint are, a Life in MS. Cotton., Brit. Mus. Vespasian A. xiv, a Life possibly drawn up in the tenth or eleventh century, and an epitome of the same in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, which is really due to John of Tynemouth *circ.* 1360, whose MS. (Tiberius E. 1) was partly destroyed by fire in 1731, but is still in most portions legible. From the minuteness of the local details it is obvious that it was composed by a Kemes man. Further information is obtained from the Welsh Genealogies of the Saints.

The Life seems to imply that Brynach was a "son of Israel,"² but this may mean no more than that he was of the true Israel of God, a Christian by family. The Welsh call him a *Gwyddel* or Irishman. He was "soul-friend" (*periglor*, as it is in Welsh), *i.e.*, confessor and chaplain, to Brychan, the Irish conqueror and colonist of Brecknock, and came with him to Britain. He married Brychan's daughter, Corth or Cymorth, and by her had a son, Berwyn, and three daughters, Mwynen, Gwenan, and Gwenlliw.³

Leaving his native land, Brynach went on pilgrimage to Rome to visit the tombs of the Apostles, and whilst there, according to the legend, slew a pestiferous monster. Returning from his pilgrimage he visited Brittany, where he remained for several years,⁴ but he has left there no permanent trace of his presence. Then he departed; according to the legend he floated over the sea on a stone.⁵ This means no

¹ *Poems*, ed. 1789, p. 156. The epithet *Gyrth* seems to mean "touched" or "stricken"; cf. Einion Yrth, son of Cunedda, whose name occurs as Enniaun Girt in the very early pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3859.

² "Elegit sibi Dominus virum de filiis Israel juxta cor suum, Bernaci nomine," Vita, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 5. The Life in Capgrave says only "ab illustri siquidem prosapia ortus, divitiis admodum locupletatus extitit, et patrimonis dilatus," ed. Horstman, Oxf., 1901, Part 1, p. 114; from the Vita, "ab illustri siquidem parentum prosapia ortum ducens," etc.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 121, 140. Berwyn is called Gerwyn in the later genealogies.

⁴ "Minorem Britanniam ingressus est, ibi quidem per multos annos commoratus beneficia potiora magnasque virtutes operatus est," *Vita*, p. 6.

⁵ "Sanctus Dei fide plenus . . . petram ascendit," *Ibid.*

more than that, as was a common custom among the Celtic Saints, he carried his *lech*, or tombstone, about with him, even in his wickerwork boat, wherever he travelled.

He landed in the estuary of the Cleddeu at Milford Haven. The time was unpropitious. A great rising had taken place among the Welsh, aided by the sons of Cunedda and by Urien Rheged, against the Irish settlers and oppressors, and these latter were being expelled from Wales.

Brynach was an Irishman, and was looked on with an evil eye. According to the legend-writer's account, on his arrival he was much harassed by an impudent woman, who, when he did not respond to her advances, set assassins on him to murder him. One of these thrust a spear into him, and grievously wounded him, and the Saint would have been killed outright, but for the intervention of friends. Brynach went to the nearest spring, where he washed his wound, and the fountain thenceforth bore the name of the Redspring, and was for long regarded as holy.

This story must be read in a different light from that in which presented by the biographer. The woman who pursued the Saint was, in all probability, his wife Cymorth. The Brychan family was indeed Irish on the father's side, but Welsh on that of the distaff, and in the political convulsion, this family endeavoured to side with the Welsh against the Irish. They were unsuccessful, and eventually were also expelled; but at the time of the arrival of Brynach, Cymorth was very probably displeased at his return, and desired to be rid of him as compromising her position in her lands of Emlyn.

With the account in the *Life*, agrees the still current legend that Brynach on his arrival first stopped at Llanbeudy or Llanboidy (the Church of the Cow-house) in Carmarthenshire, where he was denied other lodging than a cow-shed, and the Church bears a name significant of his reception. From thence he went to Cilymaenllwyd (the nook, or possibly, cell, of the grey or holy stone), also in Carmarthenshire, where he was refused shelter, and had to take refuge under a grey stone (maen llwyd). At Llanfyrnach in Pembrokeshire, however, he was better received, and there he built his oratory and cell by a spring, and called it after his own name.¹ The foundations of the chapel remain a small rectangular structure at some distance from the parish church. The account of his settlement here is given with some detail by the author of the *Life*.

¹ Fenton, *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 482 (London, 1811), quoting Edward Lhuyd.

Brynach, leaving the place where he had been half-murdered, went to another on the banks of the Gwaun, the river that flows into the sea at Fishguard, and which gives to this town the Welsh name of Aber-gwaun. Here was a stone bridge, and the place is still called Pontfaen. But the opposition he met with drove him away. The legend-writer says that evil spirits made life there insupportable. Then he departed to the banks of the Nyfer, that flows through the valley of Nevern,¹ above Newport; but there he halted only four days. He and his companions cut down trees, but the Welsh inhabitants hauled them off as soon as they were hewn down. This compelled Brynach again to shift his quarters, and he moved to the banks of the Caman, and lighted a fire there, by which he and his companions spent the night.

Now the lord of that country was Clechre or Clether,² his wife's kinsman, advanced in years, God-fearing, and the father of twenty sons. Early in the morning Clechre rose, and seeing smoke rising where he knew there was no *tref* or farm, he sent his sons to inquire who had settled there without his leave; for to light a fire on land without the consent of the chief was an act of possession-taking. The sons of Clechre came to where Brynach and his monks were crowded about the fire, and ordered them to the presence of their father. A recognition ensued, and the chief gladly welcomed Brynach, and requested him to give instruction to his sons. Then, moved by the exhortations of Brynach, Clechre departed to Cornwall, where he died. The stream Caman is the crooked brook that runs through a glen into the Nevern, and Clechre's habitation was probably the *castell* on the little height above, where the earthworks remain to this day.

Brynach settled at Nevern, a beautiful site, sheltered and commanding a noble view of Carn Ingli, to the summit of which he was wont to ascend, there to spend long hours in prayer, in the midst of the rude walls of the prehistoric fortress that crowns the mountain. There also, according to the legend, he received the visit of angels, and thence the name this bold peak has received.³

This was not the only foundation of Brynach. In spite of his being an Irishman, he so impressed the people with reverence that he was

¹ The oldest form of the name Nevern is Nant Nimer, which is the correct reading in the oldest *Annales Cambriae*, s. a. 865.

² In the *Vita*, Clechre, in John of Tynemouth and Capgrave, Cletherus; see concerning him under *S. Clether*. "Senex cognominabatur" (*Vita*). The name is apparently the Welsh clairch (cf. cleiriach), a decrepit old man, from the Latin clericus.

³ "Ita Deo placentem gerebat vitam, ut angelorum visione, simul et allocutione crebro perfrui mereretur. Unum et mons ille in quo conveniebat, in cujus videlicet pede ecclesia fabricata est, Mons Angelorum appellatus est," *Vita*, p. 10.

first tolerated, and then accepted as a man of God. He established churches at Llanfyrnach, and Dinas, as well as Nevern, in what is now Pembrokeshire. He was also the founder of churches or chapels at Henry's Mote, and Pontfaen,¹ near those already named, thus forming a continuous belt of establishments. Llanboidy in Carmarthenshire was also one of his settlements, and he had a foundation as well in Brecknockshire called after him Llanfrynach, and one in Glamorganshire, also called Llanfrynach.

The legend relates that he had a cow which gave such an abundance of milk that he greatly valued her, and committed her to the custody of a wolf, "which, after the manner of a well-trained shepherd, drove the cow every morning to her pasture, and in the evening brought her safely home." He had, it would seem, a trusty wolf-dog, which the writer has converted into a wolf.

On the occasion of Maelgwn Gwynedd coming south, to exact dues, he sent word to Brynach that he must prepare supper for him and all his retainers. This the abbot positively refused to do, lest thereby he should establish a precedent, and the kings should claim as a right to quarter themselves and their followers on him.

Maelgwn was very wroth, and his servants seized the cow. Thereupon the wolf, or dog that tended her, came whining to his master. Brynach went to Maelgwn, recovered his cow, and arrived at a compromise with him. He agreed to receive the king and his company as guests, if the prince would not claim hospitality as a right.² Maelgwn was a drunkard, but in Brynach's monastery was constrained to drink only the water drawn from the stream, and his supper consisted of wheaten bread, and doubtless meat, but the wheaten bread was a luxury unknown where barley and oat-cake were the staple of food; a legend attached to this distribution of wheaten loaves; it was said that Brynach had gathered them off a tree.

Maelgwn slept in the monastery, and next morning said to the saint, "In the Name of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, I will exempt thee for ever from all royal tribute," and he also made to him a grant of land that had been settled on by a monk named Telych, and which, apparently, Maelgwn took from this monk to make it over to Brynach. The Life gives no further particulars of Brynach save that he died on the seventh day of April.

¹ Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 347, 349, following Ecton, ascribes both to S. Bernard. George Owen, in his *Pembrokeshire*, p. 509, mentions a "Capell Burnagh" as existing in the parishes of Henry's Mote and Morvil.

² "Sanctus volens se et suos necnon et loca sua ex omni actione liberare, asseruit se regi nullam debere cenam, nec injusto ejus precepto in aliquo velle parere," *Ibid.*, p. 10.

It is somewhat remarkable that no mention is made of his having been in Devon, where was his notable foundation of Braunton, and where, according to William of Worcester and Leland,¹ his body lay. We can hardly doubt but that his migration was due to the determination of the Welsh to be rid of all the Irish who had so long oppressed them, and that they compelled the ecclesiastics of that nation to leave, as well as the chieftains.

Leland, in his *Itinerary*,² says: "I forbear to speak of S. Branock's cow, his staff, his oak, his well, and his servant Abel, all of which are lively represented in a glass window of that church (Braunton)." This has long perished. Of Abel nothing is known. The oak was fabled to have supplied the wheaten loaves.

Whytford, in his *Martiloge*, calls the Saint Bernake, and says of him: "In Englonde ye feast of Saynt Bernake, a gentylman of grete possessyon, which all he sold and went on pylgrymage to Rome, where by the waye he dyd many myracles. And when he came to England agayne he was of grete fame, and moche magnified, whiche to declayne and avoyde he fledde pryvily into South Wales, where he was assayed with the tentacyon and persecution of a lady in lyke maner as Joseph in Egypt, but with grace he vanquyshed and was of hygh perfectyon, many myracles, and had revelacyons and also vysyons of angels."

The son of Brynach, called Berwyn, is said to have settled in Cornwall, where a church was dedicated to him, and to have been slain in Ynys Gerwyn.³

In Nevern churchyard, to the south of the porch, is a fine cross called Croes Fyrnach, about thirteen feet high, with elaborate interlaced ornamentation. William Gambold, in a letter dated September 18, 1722, wrote: "This S. Byrnach was the Minister of that parish (Nevern), and a great Cronie of S. David. Now S. David, whenever he went from S. David's to Llandewi brevi, always called at Nevern, and generally lodged a night with his friend S. Byrnach. But, one time, coming that way Byrnach discovered on David's shoulder a prodigious large stone (draught enough for six yoke of oxen) carved all over with endless knots, and on one side (among or underneath the knots) five or six characters now unintelligible, which stone David told his friend he designed for Llandewi brevi, as a Memorial of him: but was prevailed upon by Byrnach to give it him, and Byrnach fixed

¹ Leland, *Coll.*, iii, p. 408.

² See also Westcote, *View of Devonshire in 1630*, p. 308.

³ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119. Nicolas Roscarrock calls him Berwyn or Breuer, and says he suffered at S. Breward, Cornwall.

it on end on the south side of Nevern Church within a few yards of the church wall."

About this stone there is a tradition that the cuckoo is wont to first sound his note, perched thereon, on the day of the patron saint, April 7. "I might well have omitted," says George Owen,¹ "an old report as yet fresh of this odious bird, that, in the old world, the Parish Priest of this church would not begin Mass till this bird, called the Citizen's Ambassador, had just appeared and begun his note on a stone called S. Brynach's Stone, standing upright in the churchyard of this parish; and, one year, staying very long, and the priest and the people expecting the accustomed coming—came at last, lighting on the said stone, his accustomed preaching place, and being scarce able once to sound his note, presently fell dead."

There is a Ffynnon Fyrnach in the parish, and the adjoining fall of a small rivulet into the sea is called Pistyll Byrnach. There is another Holy Well of his near Henry's Mote, and close to it are an upright stone, marked with a rude cross, and the ruins of his chapel.

The principal well dedicated to the Saint (referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis),² lies above the range of rocks called Carnedd (or Carnau) Meibion Owen, on the side of the mountain by the roadside. It is compassed round with a curtilage of stone wall, five or six feet thick, called Buarth Byrnach, Brynach's Fold or Enclosure. This is supposed to have been his principal resort.

In the inventory of Church goods taken by the Commissioners of 1552 is mentioned "Bronach is chapell," in the parish of Llanddarog, Carmarthenshire, which has been in ruins for nearly three hundred years.

Whytford, Cressy, and the Welsh Calendars generally give April 7 as the day of S. Brynach; but according to Bishop Grandisson's *Legendarium* for the Church of Exeter, his day in that diocese is January 7, and this is the day given by William of Worcester.³

The Translation of Brynach was kept on June 26. At Braunton the Feast or Revel is now held on Whitsunday, to which it has gravitated from the Feast of the Translation. In a good many places Brynach, also called Branock, Byrnach, and Bernach, has been confounded with, or supplanted by, S. Bernard. Even at Maenclochog this is so, where his well is now called S. Bernard's Well.

¹ Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, 1811, p. 542.

² *Itin. Camb.*, Bk. II, cap. ii.

³ Carlisle, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London, 1811), s.v. Llanfrynach (Brecknockshire), gives the parish Wake as the Sunday next after Easter.

At S. Stephen's in Brannel, Cornwall, is a holy well, or ancient baptistery, called S. Bernard's Well. That it was dedicated to the abbot of Clairvaux is improbable. It is possible that originally it was called after S. Bernac or Brynach, and may show what was the original dedication of the church, before it was placed under the patronage of S. Stephen.

For the determination of the date of S. Brynach we have not much to go upon. Maelgwn Gwynedd died of the Yellow Plague in 547; and the death of the Saint must have taken place some ten or fifteen years later, possibly even as late as 570.

His symbol is a wild white sow with young pigs, as he is said to have founded the church at Nevern where he discovered a sow with her litter. Also stags are said to have drawn timber for him from the forest. Both are represented in Braunton Church on the bench ends and on the roof.

Mr. Anscombe¹ identifies Brynach with the "Eurbre gwydel o iwe[r]don" of Jesus College MS. 20, reading Gur Bre[nach] for Brynach, in which case he was grandfather or great-grandfather to Brychan. But it would be simply impossible to identify this man with the Brynach of Welsh hagiology. There is, however, a Brynach Wyddel, also under the forms Eurnach and Urnach, connected by legend with the Snowdon mountains, in whom we may detect the Gwrnach, Awarnach, and Diwrnach Wyddel, with his magic cauldron, of the Tale of Culhwch and Olwen. There are some details of him, hopelessly jumbled, to be found in the *Iolo MSS.*, where Brynach Wyddel, king of Gwynedd, is said to have been converted and baptized by S. Rhidian of Gower and Rheged, and to have "founded the first churches in Gwynedd." He was killed at his stronghold, Dinas Ffaraon, now Dinas Emrys, near Beddgelert, in single combat with Owain Finddu, son of Maxen Wledig, the one killing the other. Eurnach or Urnach, we are also told, was the father of Serigi Wyddel and Daronwy, "and headed 20,000 Irish to Gwynedd, where they and their descendants remained for 129 years."² A Brynach Wyddel is also mentioned in a mythical Triad.³

¹ *Archiv f. Celtische Lexikographie*, i, p. 524; ii, p. 185.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 81-2, 84-5.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 390, 412.

S. BUAN, Confessor

BUAN was the son of Ysgwn (Esgwn or Ysgwyn), the son of Llywarch Hên.¹ His grandfather was the celebrated sixth century warrior-bard and Brythonic prince in the north. Not being able to hold back the invading Angles, Llywarch lost his patrimony and fled to Wales, where he found, for a time, an asylum with Cynddylan, prince of part of Powys. There was no profession open to such of his sons as escaped the sword but the religious life. Buan is said to be the patron of Bodvean, Carnarvonshire, which means the "Dwelling or Abode of Buan," a somewhat uncommon combination for a church-name. The old form was Boduan, *i.e.* Bod Fuan. His festival used to be observed there on August 4.²

S. BUDDWAL, or BUDDWALAN, Confessor

S. BUDGUAL or Budgualan, *hodie* Buddwal or Buddwalan, is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* in a grant to that Church of Lann Budgualan (or Budgual) in Erging.³ It is represented to-day by the church of Ballingham, some 8 miles S.E. of Hereford, and dedicated to S. Dyfrig. Budgual must have been one of those very early Saints, before the sixth century, of whom no records have been preserved.

S. BUDMAIL, Confessor.

BUDMAILE is invoked in the Celtic Litany of S. Vougay,⁴ of the tenth century.

Budmail is probably, almost certainly, Bothmael, the disciple of S. Maudetus or Mawes, along with S. Tudy. These disciples attended Maudetus when he retired to the island now called l'Isle Modez, off the north coast of Brittany in the Bréhat archipelago.⁵ Once, when

¹ *Peniarth MSS.* 16 (early thirteenth century), 45 (late thirteenth), and 12 (early fourteenth); *Hafod MS.* 16; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 266.

² Willis, *Bangor*, p. 275; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 280. In the *Cambrian Register*, iii, p. 225, the 9th is given.

³ Pp. 164, 171, 275.

⁴ Alb. le Grand, *Vies des SS. de Bretagne*, new edition, 1901, pp. 226-7.

⁵ "Duos discipulos, scilicet Bothmaelum et Tudium secum habuit fideles consortes in spe perhennis gaudii, labore et divino officio." *Vita 1ma S. Maudeti*, ed. De la Borderie, p. 8.

their master was absent, a demon which the Britons call a Tuthe appeared before them in the form of a marine monster. They told Maudetus, and one day shortly after, seeing the creature in the waves, he threw a stone at it, knocked it over, and the Tuthe never again appeared.¹

On a certain day the fire in the island went out, and Maudetus sent his disciple Bothmael at low tide to the mainland to bring him some live coals. Bothmael crossed, and asked a woman who was boiling milk to furnish him with what he required. She replied that she would do so on condition that he carried back the glowing charcoal in the lap of his habit.

This condition he accepted, and he was on his way back when the tide turned and he was in peril of his life, but managed to reach the island, through the interposition of Providence, at the prayer of S. Maudetus.² Nothing further is known of Bothmael. All we learn concerning him is from the *Vita Sti. Maudeti*, of which two editions exist, that have been published by De la Borderie in the *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes du Nord*, Rennes, 1891.

Maudetus is said to have been an Irishman ; he must have been for a while in Cornwall, as both he and Tudy have left their impress there, but whether Bothmael were an Irish or British disciple is not related.

S. BUDOC, Abbot, Confessor

THERE were four or five of this name.

1. An abbot in the Isles of Bréhat. Ard-Budoc, or "Budoc the exalted one," or "the Chief Budoc," was his title. He was the teacher of S. Winwaloe from about 467 to about 480 ; and we may suppose that he died about 500.

2. Budoc, son of Azenor, born, according to the legend, in Ireland, almost certainly the Budoc of Devon and Cornwall.

3. Budoc, bishop of Dol, after S. Maglorius, *circ.* 586-600.

4. Budoc, bishop of Vannes, *circ.* 600, the successor of Regalis, and predecessor of Hinguetien.

5. Budoc, disciple of Gildas, and martyr, *circ.* 560.

The first and the second may be, and probably are the same ; for

¹ "Dæmon quem Britones Tuthe appellant coram eis apparuit in specie marinæ belluæ," *Vita 1^{ma} S. Maudeti*, ed. De la Borderie, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Budoc, son of Azenor, is said to have been a son of the Count or Chieftain of Goëlo, which is the tract between the river Leff and the sea, and to it pertained the Bréhat archipelago, in one island of which Budoc "the Exalted One" had his monastic school. It is at Châtelaudren on the Leff that Budoc and Azenor are culted, and the isles of Bréhat are in the estuary of the Leff and Trieux.

In the Life of S. Winwaloe we learn that his father, Fragan, committed him to the Abbot Budoc, who lived in the Island of Lavrea in the Bréhat cluster.¹

The remains of Budoc's settlement, a small rectangular church and a row of bee-hive huts, are extant; and one of these huts is fairly intact. The pattern is precisely that of the Irish ecclesiastical settlements.²

The name of Budoc still survives in Pembrokeshire and in Devon and in Cornwall. In Pembrokeshire a chapel, now destroyed, in Hubbeston, was called S. Buttock's; the name has recently been altered to S. Botolph's. In Devon and Cornwall are S. Budeaux, near Plymouth; the parish churches of S. Budock, by Falmouth, and a ruined chapel, Budock Vean, or Little S. Budoc, in the parish of S. Constantine, near Falmouth.

According to the Exeter Martyrology, his Festival in the diocese was held on December 8. At S. Budock it is kept on the Sunday before Advent; so as not to interfere with that penitential season. At Dol the feast is transferred to December 9, because December 8 is the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

Leland, speaking of S. Budoc, says: "This Budocus was an Irishman, that came into Cornewalle and ther dwellid."³

The legend of S. Budoc is found in the *Chronicon Briocense*, that dates only from the fifteenth century, and has not been printed. But there are extracts, relative to S. Budoc, in an article by A. de Barthelmy, in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes du Nord*, tome iii. (1863), p. 235.

The legend was further contained in the Breviaries of Dol and Léon, and from them Albert le Grand derived the material for his wonderful romance.⁴ Albert, however, omitted certain incidents that occur in the narrative in the *Chronicon Briocense*.

¹ "Post septem dies, una cum infantulo—quendam angelicum audit magistrum nomine Budocum, cognomine Arduum, scientia praeditum, justitia aequitate egregium, quem velut quoddam fidei fundamentum columnamque ecclesiae firmissimam cuncti pariter tunc temporis credebant," *Vita Sti. Winwaloei*, ed. Plaine, p. 13.

² De la Borderie, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i, pp. 295–9. A plan of the island and its remains are in the same volume.

³ Leland, *Itin.*, Oxf., 1744, 333, p. 14.

⁴ *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, 1636, ed. 1891, pp. 739–60.

The legend is as follows :—

There was a king of Brest who had, once upon a time, a daughter named Azenor. She was filled with every virtue. One day, when the king was out hunting, a monstrous serpent struck at him, and wound itself about his arm, and could not be detached thence.

A wise man of the Court declared that nothing would relieve the king save the counter-attraction of a fair woman's breast washed with ewe's milk and olive oil.

Azenor at once volunteered. She presented her bosom, duly smeared, to the monster, which immediately relaxed hold of her father's arm and attached itself to her breast. Thereupon, with a razor she cut off her bosom and threw it, along with the serpent adhering to it, into a fire. Heaven, to reward her filial piety, restored her breast whole.¹ At this time there lived a Count of Goëlo, that portion of the modern department of Côtes du Nord which forms the Cantons of Paimpol, Plouha, and Lanvollon, off the coast of the northern portion of which is the Bréhat archipelago.

This Count married Azenor. About a year subsequently, Azenor's mother died, and the King of Brest married again. The new Queen was now anxious to clear her step-daughter out of the way, as she was heiress of Léon. To this end she poisoned the minds of the father and the husband of Azenor with suspicions as to her fidelity. The Count of Goëlo had his wife tried by the Council of his estates, and she was condemned to be put into a barrel and cast into the sea.

The sentence was executed, and Azenor floated in the cider-cask for five months, tossed up and down by the waves.² During all this time she was supplied with victuals by an angel, who must have thrust them in to her through the bung-hole, and, marvellous to relate, the barrel always maintained its balance.

Whilst thus drifting, Azenor became a mother, and was assisted by S. Brigid,³ who acted as midwife. Budoc was born in the barrel.⁴

¹ *Chron. Brioc.* Albert le Grand omits this incident.

² Hoc parato iudicio
Mensibus quinque dolio
Mari mansit devia.

Brev. of Léon.

³ " Et Angeli, beatæ (ut asserunt) Virginis Brigittæ, cui devote inserviebat, ministerio cibata et consolata—

Ubi, cum luce splendida
Ministrans Sancta Brigitta
Dabat necessaria."

Ibid.

⁴ " Ast ubi, quinque mensium spatio toto, marinis fluctibus Britannicis primum, deinde Britannicis et Hiberniensibus littoribus agitur dolium, tanquam regiâ

Eventually the cask was washed up at a place called Bellus-portus, in Ireland. An Irish peasant seeing the jetsam on the shore, and supposing that it contained liquor, procured a gimlet, and would have tapped it, had not the babe from within shouted, "Do not hurt us." "And who may you be inside there?" inquired the Irishman. "I am a child desiring baptism," replied the infant.

The native ran off to the nearest abbey, and told his story.

"Surely you are deceiving me," said the abbot. "Is it likely I should tell you of the find," replied the man, "if there had been anything better than a baby in the butt?"

The abbot released Azenor and her child from their long confinement, and, astonished at the miracle, on the morrow baptized the young Budoc¹ and educated him.

Azenor lived near the abbey and earned her livelihood as a washer-woman.² There they spent many years.

In the meantime the wicked step-mother had fallen ill, and when at

quâdam fulgentissimâ coelestis claritate luminis Azenor illustrata—Azenor filium in dolio peperit.

Tandem peperit filium
Azenor, intra dolium
Quadam ut in regiâ."

Brev. of Léon.

¹ "Nutu divino dolium ad Hyberniae littus, ad locum, qui Bellus-Portus dicitur, appulit. Quod cum piscator quidam adverteret, vini dolium arbitratus, accessit.

Piscator quidam, dum quaerit
Pisces, dolium reperit
Vagari per maria."

"Ubi pueri vocem audiens ne dolium solveret; sed ad Belli-Portus abbatem perduceret.

Ad Bellum-Portum ducitur.
Infans ab intus loquitur,
Ne dolium lania.
Piscator mirans auditu,
Retulit; Qui es ibi tu?
Baptisandus sum, eja!
Vade, inquit, quae vidisti
Dic abbati det ut Christi
Mihi baptismalia."

Ibid.

² "Azenore matre lotricem agente, tenuique, paupercularum more, victu et habitu contenta, quidquid operae supererat lucelli pauperibus fideliter dilargiente.

Mater Azenor lotricae
Officio stetit curae
Quaerens victualia.
Non quaerebat massam verum
Sed mater erat pauperum
Pauperiate sobria."

Ibid.

the point of death, confessed that she had fabricated the charges against Azenor, and that they were wholly destitute of foundation.

The Count of Goëlo at once started on his travels in quest of his wife. His good luck led him to Ireland, and he disembarked at the very bay where lived Azenor as a washerwoman, and there he was reconciled to her, and made the acquaintance of his son.

The Count then had a ship prepared to take them all back to Brittany, but the sea-voyage had upset his constitution, and he died before embarking. Azenor resolved on remaining near the tomb of her husband, and there, after a few years, she died.

On the death of the abbot, Budoc was elected in his place, and he might have remained there the rest of his days, had not the Irish people elected him to be their king.¹

This was too much for his modesty, and he fled, but finding no boat, entered a stone trough, and in that was carried over the sea to Brittany.² He disembarked at Porspoder, where he formed a hermitage, in which he spent a year. But unable to endure the war of the waves on that wild coast, he had his stone trough mounted on a cart, and resolved on settling wherever the cart should stop. It broke down about four miles from Porspoder, and there he remained a while, but found the people more vexatious than the sea, and having got across with them, he excommunicated them and departed. The legend then carries him to Dol, and confounds him with the successor of S. Maglorius.

We must now inquire whether there be any historical basis for this marvellous tale. We shall have, first of all, to eliminate the fabulous matter that has been imported into it.

1. The story of the serpent attaching itself to the father's arm, and being drawn off to Azenor's breast, is that found in Welsh legend relative to Caradog Freichfras and his wife Tegau Eurfron; or perhaps we should say in the Romancer's version of the Arthurian tale.³

2. The fable of Azenor's being sent to sea in a barrel is an importation from the popular folk-tale of Catskin. We have this in its noblest

¹ "Ab Hyberniae populo rex et archiepiscopus desideratissime nominatur, exoptatur, diligitur." *Brev. of Léon*.

² "Erat autem illi velut arca lapidea quaedam, concava petra, in qua, nocte jacere solitus erat, quam, angeli ministerio, mari proximam conspexit; cujus suasu, tanquam navi quadam usus, transfretavit, inque partes Leonensium pervectus, ad portam, cui nomen est Porz Poder, pervenit, ubi, per annum, vel circiter, commoratus, oratorium construxit." *Ibid.* The same, but fuller, in the *Dol Breviary*.

³ Lady Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, 1877, pp. 328-9. For Welsh and other parallels see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, pp. 689-690.

form in the old German epic of Gudrun. In that, as in the Budoc tale, the lady becomes a washerwoman.

3. The false accusation made by the step-mother is common to many folk tales, and occurs in the mediaeval romance of Octavianus.

Sometimes it takes another form, a steward poisons the husband's ears. So in the tales of Hirlanda and Genoveva of Brabant.

When we have swept aside all this accretion from folk romance, the facts remaining may possibly be these :—

Owing to one of the many dynastic revolutions that took place in Brittany, Azenor was constrained to fly with her newborn son. She escaped first of all to Britain, and then perhaps to Ireland. There Budoc embraced the ecclesiastical life.

It is more probable that Azenor took refuge in the west of Cornwall, which had been colonized from Ireland, than that she went on to Ireland itself, for the parish of Zennor regards her as patroness under the name of Sennara, and Budoc certainly became a founder in Cornwall ; whereas neither he nor his mother have left any traces in Irish tradition, or find a place in Irish Martyrologies.

That Budoc went on to Ireland, there to finish his education, is probable enough, and this may account for Leland speaking of him as an Irishman. But Budoc is not a Goidelic name, the nearest approach to it being Buite, who was a son of Bronach.

The statement that Azenor died in Ireland is contrary to the tradition of Cornouaille, as she is held to have founded a religious house for women in the Cap Sizun promontory.

Budoc, as we learn from the Life of S. Winwaloe, settled as a teacher, in the island of Lavrea.

Where Budoc, and his mother with him, landed, was at Porz Poder on the extreme west of Finistère, where the granite cliffs receive the whole weight of the Atlantic surges, rolling in before a west wind. He is still regarded as the patron of that parish. Thence, however, he moved inland, and his next station was at Plourin, where both he and his mother receive a cult as patrons to this day. The church has been entirely rebuilt, but the pulpit has been preserved, on which in carved oak are represented scenes from the life of Budoc.

The subjects are :—

1. S. Azenor holding a crucifix and leaning on a cask. In the rear, water, and a castle.

2. An angel seated, pointing to the cask that is floating on the waves. In the distance, out of the sea, stands a rock like a menhir.

3. S. Budoc with archiepiscopal crosier and wearing a mitre. The cask is on one side of him, and in a corner is a church.

4. An angel with the barrel. In the background, on the right, a tower with a house on top of it. On the left a two-masted ship with sails.

5. S. Azenor with the babe swaddled in her arms. The barrel is at her side. In the distance a monastery.

Eventually, both Budoc and his mother must have gone to the Sizun promontory in Cornouaille, for he is patron of Beuzec-cap-Sizun.

Azenor had a church near the Point du Raz, and a convent in the parish of Goulven, but it has been destroyed.¹

Two holy wells at Languengar near Lesneven bear her name; and women drink of that of Clesmeur, to augment their milk. A young man once took a draught from it, and to his dismay found his breasts swell. His tears, prayers, and shame softened the Saint, and she graciously dried up the fountains of his bosom.

Budoc is patron of Beuzec-Conq.

The traditional site of Azenor's husband's castle is Châtelaudren in Côtes du Nord, where stood formerly a fortress that has been levelled, but the mounds show its position, above a pretty tarn with woods sloping down to it. Hard by is the chapel of Notre Dame du Tertre, with a painted wooden ceiling of the end of the fifteenth century, representing in a series of subjects the story of Azenor and Budoc. One of these depicts the saintly mother in the cask, whilst above flutters an angel bearing a scroll inscribed "Audita est oratio tua."

S. Budoc's day is December 8 in the Léon Breviary of 1516; in that of Dol, 1519, he is given on this day, but the observance is transferred; in the Exeter Calendar on the same day.

In addition to the churches of S. Budoc in Cornwall and Devon, and the chapel in Pembrokeshire already referred to, there seems to have been a dedication to him in Oxford. Anthony Wood quotes notices of the rebuilding of the church of S. Budoc in Oxford in 1265, but he adds, "it hath for several hundreds of years past been demolished."² We strongly suspect that there is some mistake about this dedication.

Owing to the reason already referred to, the commemoration of S. Budoc is transferred to December 9 in the Missal of Vannes, 1530, in the Vannes Breviary of 1589, and in that of Dol, 1519.³

Albert le Grand gives as his day November 18, but probably quite arbitrarily. It is, of course, uncertain that the Budoc of legend should

¹ Carguet, Cap Sizun, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. de Finistère*, 1899.

² Anthony à Wood, *Antiquities of Oxford*, Oxford Hist. Soc., 1889-99, vol. ii. See also the Close Rolls, i, ff. 498, 529.

³ The Commemoration at Vannes is of Budoc, bishop of Vannes, *circ.* 600, and that at Dol is of the Bishop of Dol, 585.

be the Ard-Budoc of the Life of S. Winwaloe, but it is probable, as the Isle of Lavre, where are the remains of his monastery, is in Goëlo, of which he was a native. That the master of Winwaloe can have become the bishop of Dol of the same name is chronologically impossible.

Winwaloe died in 563. As a child he was with Budoc, between 467 and 480; and Budoc cannot have been young then. Consequently he could not become bishop of Dol in 585.

In art, S. Budoc is represented with his stone trough, or with the cask at his side, vested, erroneously, as a bishop or archbishop, because identified with the successor of S. Maglorius.

That such a childish nurse-tale should have been adopted into the offices of the churches of Dol and Léon, with hymns based on it, is indeed astonishing. But more astonishing still are the remarks thereon of a man in the nineteenth century, presumably of some education and intelligence. This is M. Miorec de Kerdanet, who brought out an edition of Albert le Grand's *Vies des Saints* in 1837. He says:—"La légende de Sainte Azenor et de Saint Budoc n'est pas un conte. Elle a toutes les preuves dans la tradition, et dans les actes des églises de Dol et de Léon." And Garaby has the effrontery to quote this assertion with approval.¹

There is a supplement to the Life of S. Budoc, as silly as the story of his mother's adventures.

Before his death, Budoc bade his disciple Illtyd cut off his arm, so soon as he was dead, and take it to Plourin, where he had been so ill received, and had excommunicated the inhabitants. Illtyd (Hydultus) did so, and halting on the way at Brech, in Morbihan, he put down the box that contained the arm, on the floor. A man inadvertently sitting on the box became paralysed. The people of the place, convinced that the miracle was performed by the relic, refused to permit its removal. Illtyd begged to be allowed to kiss it, and when this was permitted, bit off one of the Saint's fingers, and carried it away in his mouth. This finger is now preserved at Plourin, in a silver reliquary formed like an arm.

On this story it may be remarked that the name Brech in Breton signifies an arm. The relic there cannot be of Budoc, son of Azenor, but of Budoc or Bieuzy, the disciple of Gildas; for Brech is near Plouvigner, where the latter Bieuzy halted on his way to Ruys, and where he is still culted; whereas it is quite out of the way from Dol to Plourin.

¹ *Vies des Bienheureux et des Saints de Bretagne*, S. Briec, 1839, p. 328. Lobineau, with more sense, says of the legend, "elle est si romanesque et si ridicule qu'on ne peut rien lire de plus extravagant."

The principal settlement of Budoc in western Brittany, or Cornubia, was probably Beuzec-Cap-Caval and Beuzec Cap Sizun. The whole of this peninsula between the river of Quimper and the bay of Douarnenez would seem to have been the sphere of his labours. The population is that of the Bigauden, an extraordinary race, very Tartar like, and different in characteristics, and in costume, from the true Bretons.

De la Villemarqué has given a ballad of Azenor and Budoc in his *Barzas-breiz*, but whether genuine is doubtful, at any rate it is modern.

The name Budoc becomes in Breton Buzoc, Beuzec, and Beuzeuc. That of Azenor has also undergone several transformations, as Alienor, Eleonore, Honore, and Honorée. On account of the fanciful derivation of the name Beuzec as "saved from the waters," Budoc, according to Brizieux became the patron of wreckers.¹

S. BUDOC, Bishop, Confessor

BUDOC, Bishop of Dol, was the successor of S. Maglorius. The date is not fixed with certainty. But it took place close on 585 or 586.

It is reasonable to suppose that he was akin to both Samson and Maglorius, as the headship of the great monastic institutions was retained as much as possible in a family. Only in exceptional cases was one raised to that pre-eminence who did not belong to the founder's family.

Of Budoc of Dol nothing is known. His career was uneventful. He died and was buried at Dol.

When the clergy returned after the cessation of the ravages of the Northmen, they were possessed by the infatuation of making their cathedral metropolitan, and of magnifying the acts of the past abbot-bishops. Then, perhaps, disappointed at having so meagre a record of Budoc, they laid hold on the legend of Budoc, son of Azenor, of Léon, and compounded the two into one, making of the Léon Budoc their Bishop, the successor to Samson and Maglorius. But, as says the Abbé Duine, "Cette merveilleuse histoire de Sainte Azenore et de Saint Budoc ne fut jamais populaire que dans le pays de son origine."²

¹ *Les Bretons*, Chant ix.

Abbas natum baptizavit
Et Beuzeuc eum vocavit
Ob tanta naufragea.

Breviary of Léon.

² *L'Hermine*, t. xxvi, 1902, p. 263.

S. BUDOC, Monk, Martyr

WHETHER Budoc, the friend and disciple of Gildas, be the Boda, with the suffix *oc*, met with in the Welsh Lists of Saints, we have no means of knowing.

The material for the Life of Budoc is not of good quality. During the War of the League, the church of Beuzy was plundered, and the Life supplied to Albert le Grand is taken from such fragmentary documents as remained there, and in the possession of the seigneur of Rymaison. According to this Life, Budoc was a native of Britain, almost certainly of Wales, who accompanied Gildas when he settled at Ruys.

By the side of the Blavet a mass of granite rock projects, leaving only a narrow space of turf between it and the river. This is below the finger of hill round which sweeps the Blavet, and which served as a Roman station, the Gallo-Roman city of Sulim.

Gildas and Budoc founded a monastery at the neck of this promontory, and it was called Castanec. But, that they might be alone for prayer and meditation, they were wont to retire under this overhanging rock. A little spring oozes out at its base. Here the two friends spent much time in devotion. When the half Christianized, half pagan inhabitants pursued them to this retreat, one or other mounted a node of rock between their cell and the gliding stream, and preached to them thence.

According to the legend, on one occasion they came in such crowds, and were so impatient to hear the Word of God, that Gildas preached for long, though thirsty, fevered and weary. At last, unable to continue, he fled to his cell under the rock, and as the people clamoured after him, the rock split, and through the cleft he was able to scramble to the summit and so escape them. The crack is a natural fault, and the story has been invented to explain it.

The two Saints built a wall to enclose their retreat, with only one opening through which to crawl, and which admitted light. For the summons to prayer, in place of a bell, they provided themselves with two thin slabs of diorite, which, when struck with a pebble, emitted a bell-like note.

When Gildas was constrained to leave Castanec, and return to his main foundation at Ruys, he left the little monastery under the charge of his friend.

By some chance Budoc was credited with a power of driving away madness in man and beast.

One day, when he was about to proceed to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, a chief in the neighbourhood sent to bid him come at once to him, as his dogs were ill, he feared with hydrophobia. Budoc told the messenger that he could not attend to the dogs till he had ministered to men, and that he must first celebrate the Eucharist.

The man returned to his master, and exaggerated what Budoc had said, and coloured it after his own perverse mind, into an insolent refusal. The chieftain was furious, and hastening to the church, dealt the unhappy Budoc a severe blow on the head.

With his head bleeding, the excited, hurt, and indignant monk rushed off to lay the case before his master, Gildas—the chief had not only committed sacrilege, but had violated sanctuary. A number of people attended him. He hastened down the river, then cut across the spur of hill covered with the forest of Camors, passed the *caer* of Conmore, regent of Domnonia, and a power to be considered even in Broweroc. Conmore, who at that period was on excellent terms with Gildas, was not there at the time, or Budoc would have made his complaint to him. He passed on, and night fell as he reached the Irish colony of Plouvigner. There he halted, and the people who had attended him lit their fires and camped out for the night.

Next day the wounded monk pushed on, and, reaching the sea at Baden, there took boat. Lusty arms sent the little vessel flying over the still waters of the Morbihan. When it reached the peninsula of Sarzeau Budoc had become so weak and exhausted that he could hardly stagger forward.

Messengers ran ahead and told Gildas that Budoc was coming, and what had taken place. At the time he was chanting vespers. At once he proceeded in procession from the church, at the head of his monks, to receive the wounded man. When they met Budoc, they saw that he must die. He was conveyed into the church, and there he breathed his last. Had he gone quietly to bed, and had his head been attended to at once, instead of his posting off on a long journey, he might have recovered.

Legend has embellished a very simple tale, and represents him as having had an axe or a knife cleave his skull, and as having gone two days' journey wearing the weapon in his wound. But this is a common extravagance in hagiographic fiction.

Albert le Grand gives as his day November 24. But he has been the occasion of a strange confusion. His name, softened in Breton to Bieuzy, has been Latinized into Bilicus. Now there was a Bili, Bishop of Vannes in 725, probably the same who composed the Life of S. Malo; but he died quietly in his bed. However, in the Missal of Vannes of

1530, and the Proper of Vannes 1660, he is entered on June 23 as Bili, Ep. M., of Vannes.

In the churchyard of Beuzy is a portion of Budoc's stone bell. The church itself is interesting, late Flamboyant, and possesses some fine old stained glass. In the church are statues of S. Gildas, S. Bieuzy, and S. Helen; also a modern window representing the legend of the Saint. S. Bieuzy is invoked against madness and hydrophobia.

S. BUGI, or HYWGI, Confessor

BUGI or Hywgi, the father of the great S. Beuno, is reckoned among the Welsh Saints. He was a son of Gwynllyw ab Glywys ab Tegid ab Cadell Deyrnllwg. Devoting himself to the religious life, he "gave his lands to God and Catwg for ever, and became a saint with Catwg"¹ (at Llancarfan), who was his brother; but this does not accord with the life of S. Beuno. Gwynllyw Filwr, who had married Gwladys, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, was lord of Gwynllywg in Monmouthshire, and the father also of Cammarch, Glywys Cernyw, Cynfyw (or Cyfyw), Cyflewyr, Gwyddlew, Maches and others. Bugi's wife was Beren or Perferen, daughter of Lleuddun Luyddog of Dinas Eiddyn (Edinburgh). Most of what is known of him is to be found in the Welsh Life of S. Beuno. He is there spoken of as a *gwr bonheddig*, a man of noble birth, who lived in Powys at a place called Banhenig, situated somewhere near the Severn. He and his wife were a very virtuous couple, well stricken in years, and childless. An angel appeared one evening to them and promised them a son, "who should be honourable according to God and man." This was Beuno, whom, as a boy, they instructed in the rudiments of the Christian religion, and afterwards sent to S. Tangusius at Caerwent. After some time Bugi was taken ill of a hopeless disease, and he sent for Beuno, for he could see that the end was near. "After receiving the Communion, making his confession, and rendering his end perfect, he departed this life"; and Beuno planted an acorn beside his grave.

See further under S. BEUNO.

S. BURIENA, Virgin, Abbess

S. BURIENA was one of the Irish colony that came over to Cornwall at the beginning of the sixth century. Leland, in his *Itinerary* (iii, 18), says, "S. Buriana, an Holy Woman of Ireland sum tyme dwellid in this

¹ *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 108, 130.

place and there made an oratory. King Athelstane going hence, as it is said, unto Sylley, and returning made ex voto a College where the oratorie was."

She is to be identified with Bruinech the Slender, "who," as the scholiast of the *Martyrology of Donegal* says, "is venerated in a town bearing her name, in England, on the 29th of May." But this is inaccurate, the feast of S. Buryan being on the nearest Sunday to May 12. Leland calls her Bruinet, and says she was a King's daughter, who came to Cornwall with S. Piran. The forms Bruinet and Bruinech are mere variations of spelling that occur repeatedly, as Gobnat and Gobnach, Rignat and Rignach, Dervet and Dervech. The *ech*, or *at*, is a diminutive for female names, corresponding to *oc* for male names. So Brig becomes Briget.

Bruinech was of illustrious birth. She was a daughter of Crimthan, a chieftain in Munster, grandson of Aengus Mac Nadfraich who had been baptized by S. Patrick. Her father Crimthan was of Magh Trea, probably Ard Trea, near Lough Neagh in Derry. She was a kinswoman of S. Cieran (Piran). The story of Buriena is found in the life of S. Cieran of Saighir. She embraced the religious life under Liadhain, the mother of S. Cieran, one of the first abbesses in Ireland. Liadhain had a religious house at Killyon in King's County. The damsel was slim in form, and so went by the name of Caol, the "Slender." She was also very beautiful.

Dima, of the Hy Fiachai tribe in West Meath, fell in love with her, and carried her off against her will, with the assistance of his clansmen. The wrath of S. Cieran was kindled, and he sped after the ravisher to demand her back again. Dima refused to restore her. "Never," said he, "till I hear the cuckoo call at day-dawn and arouse me from sleep." It was winter time, and a deep snow lay on the ground, and crested the castle walls. As the gates were shut, Cieran and his companions had to spend the night in the snow outside. They passed it in prayer. Lo! next morning a cuckoo¹ was perched on every turret of the chieftain's castle, uttering its plaintive call. Surprised and alarmed at this marvel, Dima released the maiden.

Putting aside what is fabulous in this story, we see the venerable Saint's enthusiasm for the protection of innocence.

What actually took place was that Cieran "fasted against" Dima. This was a practice among the Irish sanctioned by law. When one who was aggrieved was unable by force to obtain redress, he went to the door of the aggressor and remained there exposed to the inclemency

¹ The word is "cuculus." In the Irish version it is that for a heron or stork.

of the weather, and refused all food, till he died. As this would entail a blood feud, the wrongdoer generally yielded.

When, in the twelfth century, the *Life of S. Cieran* was re-written, the editor could not understand the practice, which had long ago been abandoned, so he invented the story of the cuckoo to give point to the incident, and to account for the surrender of Dima.

As soon as Bruinech had been released, Cieran took her back to his mother at Killyon.

After a few days the chieftain repented of having released the girl, his passion was not overcome, and he returned to the convent to again carry her off, protesting that she was his wife, and that he had a right to reclaim her. In her fright Bruinech fainted, and Dima was shown her lying unconscious. He stormed at Cieran, declared that the Saint had killed his wife, and threatened to drive him out of the country. Cieran replied, "Thou hast no power over me. Thy strength is but a vain shadow."

According to the legend, at this juncture news arrived that Dima's dun was on fire; that is to say, the wooden and wickerwork structures within the fort were blazing. At the tidings, the chief hastily left the convent, in hopes of rescuing his child and some of his valuables from the flames.

It is not difficult to read between the lines of this narrative. Bruinech was well connected. Indeed, her kinsman, Carthagh, a turbulent youth, was a disciple of Cieran at Saighir. The family of Crimthan was not likely to brook the indignity of the rape. Carthagh probably led a party of the clansmen, as well as retainers of the abbey, against Dima's fortress, and set it on fire. However brought about, Dima was completely humiliated, and surrendered himself and tribe in subjection to Cieran and his coarbs of Saighir.

We cannot tell when Cieran passed into Cornwall; when he did he took with him his old nurse Cuach, and his young pupil Bruinech.

Nothing is recorded of the acts of S. Burienna in Cornwall. Her settlement must have been of considerable importance. It had a sanctuary, which, with its oratory, remains about a mile south-east of the parish church that bears her name, beside a rivulet, on the farm of Bosliven. Probably popular veneration attached to this place long after the transfer of the church, for it excited the rage of Shrubsall, one of Cromwell's officers, and he almost totally destroyed it. Roscarrock says that in his day the old church was called Eglis-Burien.

The day of S. Bruinech in the Irish Calendars is May 29, and this indeed is the day marked as that of S. Burienna in Wilson's *English Martyrology* of 1608, and by FitzSimons in his sixteenth century

Calendar. But the Exeter Calendar gives as her day, May 1, and the Feast at Buryan is on O. S. May Day, *i.e.* eleven days after May 1. In the second edition of his *Martyrologium Anglicanum* Wilson arbitrarily inserted her on June 19, but in the first edition correctly on May 29. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Chronology of History*, follows Wilson's second edition, and gives June 19. Dr. Oliver, in his *Monasticon Exoniense*, gives June 4 as her day, but in his Supplement corrects this to May 1.

Her death probably took place about 550.

In art she would be represented as an Irish nun in white, with a cuckoo, or, better still, a heron, on a tower, at her side.

S. BYRNACH see S. BRYNACH.



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